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EDITORIAL

LAST RIGHTS

After much veiled speculation and allusions to "black nightgowns" that became "black evening dresses" in later editions, the longest-running suppressed news story of the past week in New York was broken—by *The New York Times*. We refer, of course, to the circumstances and venue of Nelson A. Rockefeller's death. Reportedly the New York *Daily News* also had the story—and was indeed "sitting on it" for nearly a week, for the high-level reasons of taste that rule New York journalism, and in hopes that Rupert Murdoch's low-down rival *Post* would lead the way into the breach. At any rate, the story remained faint innuendo until after the tributes, the private obsequies and the memorial service attended by President Carter and other dignitaries.

Then, *The New York Times*, of all papers, found a respectable cover for talking about Rocky's last hours without appearing to talk about them. Namely, the question of life and death. Could Rockefeller's life have been saved if the hospital had been notified an hour sooner? This enabled the paper to inform us, in the guise of investigative journalism, that instead of calling the police right away, Rockefeller's research assistant had called her friend, the hostess of a half-hour TV program "aimed at elderly people called *The Prime of Your Life*."

The real issue, of course, has nothing to do with the circumstances of Rocky's death. Rather it has to do with whether public figures have a right to minimal private lives or, in this case, the right to a private death. And if even that minimalist zone of privacy is to be breached, wouldn't we all be better off if the job were left to a professional privacy invader like *The National Enquirer*, freeing the other papers to devote their investigative energies to peccadilloes of the board room rather than the bedroom?

CARTER'S NEW COALITION
Gordon Adams & David A. Gold

TAIWANESE DISSENT
Donald Kirk

PENSION POWER
Dedra Hauser

FARM-LAND BONANZA
James Krohe Jr.

BLACK MACHO
Julius Lester

PERSONAL POLITICS
Sally Belfrage

WEST BANK 'AUTONOMY'

THE P.L.O. AND THE PALESTINIANS

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

International diplomacy of the Camp David sort has a way of being conducted, if not actually consummated, over the heads of the people who must live with the results. This Versailles method, many times discredited, has been endemic to the Middle East, and certainly influences the current Palestinian autonomy argument among Washington, Cairo and Tel Aviv. An overlooked result of this tripartite quarrel is the present uneasy state of the Palestine Liberation Organization in its relationship with the West Bank. Put simply: do the current wider negotiations make it easier or harder for Israel to encourage and nurture the growth of a "manageable" Arab leadership in the occupied territories? And, conversely, does the P.L.O. really have the political roots it claims among those bedeviled inhabitants?

The recently concluded meeting of the Palestine National Council in Damascus was inconclusive on the point. The Baghdad summit, which has enormously strengthened the P.L.O. in its refusal to go along with Anwar el-Sadat (and, incidentally, enormously increased the budget available to it from Arab treasuries) did not really grasp the nettle. Elements of both left and right among the Palestinians believe that any open political activity short of resistance in the occupied areas amounts to treason and collaboration. The 1976 municipal elections, which registered great gains for independent candidates of a generally leftist-nationalist hue, are not

(Continued on Page 178)

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LETTERS.

MORE ON GUNS

North Hollywood, Calif.

I was much amused by Bert Russell's letter [*The Nation*, Dec. 9]. He showed a complete and total ignorance of the situation in Vietnam when he stated that "the foreign-assisted domestic government of Vietnam was resisted and finally overthrown by a people whose growing ownership and familiarity with guns laid the groundwork for revolutionary action on a large scale." Exactly what is he talking about? The Republic of Vietnam was defeated by the army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—a conventional army made up mainly of conscripts from the North and equipped with Russian and Chinese weapons, including a rather sizable contingent of armor and artillery. (The National Liberation Front had been decimated in the 1968 Tet offensive and had ceased to be a major political/military threat by 1972, so much so that the 1972 offensive was carried out by the North Vietnamese.)

Russell's conception of the abilities of an armed citizenry to stand up to regular forces is somewhat overrated. Without organization, training, discipline and modern weapons, citizen forces have a habit of getting slaughtered by conventional armies. Witness the Russian suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolt, or the more recent fighting in Nicaragua. *Joseph Miranda*

FARMER PROTESTS

Celina, Ohio

Allow this hayseed the opportunity to state that I was thoroughly appalled by Hank Nuwer's patronizing attitude toward farmers ["Minnesota Peasants' Revolt," *The Nation*, Dec. 9].

Would Nuwer, if he were writing an article on blacks and women, refer to them as "darkies" and "broads" (for that matter, would the person who wrote the headline)? I would submit that the term "peasants" is equally pejorative.

Perhaps most residents of rural areas would not know the difference between quiche and a Cuisinart, but I doubt very much if Nuwer knows the difference between a hog and a hoe. He writes that land ". . . is sacred to men who kneel upon it to plant a seed." Admittedly, most farmers like being outside and enjoy their occupation, but if Nuwer knows a single farmer (and I mean a farmer, not some urban dilettante who plays around on a quarter-acre) who kneels to plant in this era of $75,000 tractors, I shall kiss his "rich, black soil." I had thought such syrupy romanticism had disappeared with Thomas Jefferson.

He also stated that farmers are now using wind and solar power. I have news for Nuwer. . . . They have been using wind and solar power for thousands of years.

The most unforgivable statement, however, is that "Farmers displayed genuine human emotions. . . ." Oh, really? Does he think farmers usually display nothing more than barnyard sensibilities? . . .

Finally, Mr. Nuwer writes that farmers are "traditionally as conservative as coveralls. . . ." My mouth falls agape at such ignorance. Farmers have traditionally been on the cutting edge of radical and reformist movements within this country. Has he never heard of the Whiskey Rebellion, the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Nonpartisan League, the Farmers' Holiday Association and the American Agriculture Movement?

Like many of your publication's readers, Nuwer may have wondered why legitimate concerns of the ecology and utility reform movements have enjoyed so little support among rural residents. Could it be because movement spokesmen display the same cultural chauvinism toward rural residents that 19th-century Christian missionaries displayed toward the natives of Asia and Africa? Believe it or not, we have flush toilets, books and even arts councils out here in the sticks. *Wayne Wenning*

ANOTHER CULT

Argenta, British Columbia

Last fall everyone was horrified by the report of the mass murder-suicide at Jim Jones's People's Temple in Guyana [see "Skeptics and True Believers," by Theodore Roszak, *The Nation*, Feb. 10]. This cult should remind us of another one which is more terrifying, and which most people accept and even participate in. That is the cult of nationalism, patriotism and militarism. Young people are enticed with money, job training and glory into a community (boot camp or the service academies) where they are indoctrinated so that they will kill at the direction of their leader; and will not only lay down their own lives but also the lives of all of us, in suicidal nuclear holocaust. United States naval fliers were taught to fly their planes into oncoming Russian bombers to stop them, kamikaze style. Just as the People's Temple was profitable to Jim Jones in money and power, so is the military cult profitable for its leaders, not in a few million dollars but in hundreds of billions of dollars. Is it too late to bring this awesome cult under control? *Phillip H. Wells*

PAPER CHASE

St Augustine, Fla.

The thing that is so horrible about the new face of *The Nation* is its ghastly color. It is not white. If you hold it up next to *The New Republic* you will see how much more readable the latter is. But you have something T.N.R. has not, whose price is beyond rubies, and that is Ed Koren's drawings. So hang on to him; let him illustrate all your ads. . . . Next to Michelangelo, Ed Koren is my favorite artist. *Anne E. Moffett*

Don't think we haven't noticed the "ghastly" color too. But we scoured the woods and came up with the new paper on which this issue is printed. No longer need we remain in the shade of *The New Republic*, colorwise or otherwise. *—The Editors*

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

Palo Alto, Calif.

Michael Harrington's revealing testimony about the fumbling Congress ["Why I Quit Congress," *The Nation*, Dec. 23] is long overdue. . . . The important insight offered by Harrington is that nothing less than "a major constitutional and institutional overhaul" will do. While his diagnosis seems to be on target, Harrington's prescribed treatment leaves a lot to be desired. The proposed remedy, an American parliamentary setup, points in the wrong direction. It would further diminish the separation of powers and the precarious balance between the branches of our government.

Since the people cannot entrust an "irrelevant Congress" with the needed repairs of our governmental system, the only effective constitutional means left is the creation of a Constitutional Assembly . . . . A new team of representatives is needed to reframe the old constitutional goals into an instrument commensurate with present-day domestic and international affairs. Unburdened with day-to-day decisions and supported by the excellent Library of Congress, such a body of men and women could listen, read, think and create. Who knows, they may even decide that it is not the legislative but the judiciary branch that needs most strengthening. *Egon E. Loebner*

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EDITORIALS.

For Deng—Coke and Hegemony

Mao Zedong used to say that the Chinese had no fear of nuclear war; if it came to that—they could stand the loss of a few hundred millions in a population of close to a billion, whereas their enemies could not. Something of the same spirit of carelessness about human life in the mass lay back of Deng Xiaoping's answer to President Carter when the latter reminded him of the Jackson-Vanik amendment's restrictions on according most-favored-nation status to countries that prohibit free emigration. "How many Chinese do you want?" was Deng's rejoinder. "Ten million?"

That question and answer closed the subject for the rest of the Chinese leader's extraordinary shopping expedition in the guise of a state visit to the United States. And it demonstrated what might be called the intractable flexibility of the Chinese as they play their "American card." They have give in their policy when it involves relations with this country, at least for the moment, and total rigidity when it comes to the Russians.

Deng proved his toughness when he forced Carter to swallow and then utter the word "hegemonism" in a final press communique, which the Administration desperately wanted to avoid. The footnotes Washington quickly slapped on this document, saying that, of course, we have many policy differences with the Chinese Communists, could not soften the import of a joint Chinese-American castigation of Soviet expan-

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sionism, however differently the two countries apply the "anti-hegemonist" doctrine. It is not impossible that the first Chinese application of it may be a war with Vietnam aimed at saving its Cambodian clients and checking Soviet encirclement along its southern borders.

It is instructive in the ways of the world—and in our dealings with Communist powers, "super" or not—to compare Deng's triumphant tour with that of Nikita Khrushchev two decades ago. In those early days of the breakup of the cold-war's ice floes, the Soviet leader, though he charmed Americans with his rough but unorthodox ways, never made a single ideological concession. He reviled this country as the capitalist villain of the world and constantly proclaimed our imminent doom. Deng, on the other hand, threw overboard all his ideological baggage before he landed and grasped for the fruits of the American way as if he had discovered El Dorado on our shores. In Peking, the first Coca-Cola truck was treated with the reverence that might once have been accorded to the catafalque of Karl Marx or Sun Yat-sen.

It is still too early to judge the effect of Deng's personal appearance tour on the serious business of American diplomacy. The Russians have been quite restrained in their comments on the Sino-American rapprochement. They have muttered rather than fumed that the United States offered "a broad forum" to the Chinese "for slander against the U.S.S.R." It has been noted that a certain "dynamism" has gone out of the late stages of the SALT II negotiations, even as the Pentagon blasts away at the foundations of that putative agreement with word that the Russians are making rapid progress toward a devastating cruise missile of their own. Brezhnev's scheduled visit to Washington to formalize (as against normalize) that agreement has receded at least into the middle distance, if not farther.

Meanwhile the conservative-rightist politicians of this country are almost tongue-tied. The center (Carter, et al.) talk tougher about the Russians lest they be accused of having gone totally "soft on Communism," but the virilist crowd doesn't quite know what to say. They hope that it is the United States that is playing a trump card against the Russians, not the Chinese who are throwing us down on the strategic table. Occasionally they try to play the Taiwan card (worth about a 2 of clubs in this game). They are inhibited by the visions of commercial sugarplums dancing in the acquisitive heads of American businessmen as they contemplate a billion new customers for their products.

It may be, as the President says, that the new Sino-American entente is "irreversible." Beyond the quite recent upheavals in the Middle Kingdom, however, all history suggests the reverse. And all we should confidently say is that we have taken the first step down a long road and that the new connection with China is not the only game in town, nor even the main one. That continues to be our relations with the Soviet Union, and a strategic arms limitation treaty is still the crucial play.

Worker-Owned Businesses Work

The sad state of the economy and the politica mood of the country has spawned a set o proposals in Congress that would encourag distressed communities to help themselve through worker-community ownership of businesse Representatives Peter Kostmayer (D., Pa.), Stanle Lundine (D., N.Y.) and Matthew McHugh (D., N.Y.) have drafted the Voluntary Employee Ownership an Community Stabilization bill, which, if passed, woul give a small amount of Federal aid to localities fight ing to save failing firms. The Subcommittee on Eco nomic Dislocation of the House Banking Committe promises full hearings early in the session. In the Sen ate, Russell Long will use his considerable influenc as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee t push a pet project, Employee Stock Ownership Pro grams, which are designed to raise cheap capital an stimulate productivity in return for eventual worke ownership of companies.

The Employee Stock Ownership Programs—o which there are now 3,000 in the United States—an employee pension funds, represent a growing poten tial for indirect ownership by workers. (See "The Un ions' Hidden Asset," page 171.)

Most direct worker ownership to date has involve individual firms. Among the oldest and most success ful American worker-owned enterprises are sixteer plywood manufacturing plants in the Pacific North west. They were born out of necessity, when worker faced unemployment lines if they did not buy thei factories from their bankrupt employers. These com panies, ranging in size from eighty to 450 workers made up about one-eighth of the Douglas Fir plywoo industry in 1974.

Most plywood co-op workers own a share in thei company, which permits them to vote on major busi ness decisions and to select a co-op board that hire plant management. There is generally an egalitarian pay scale, about 25 percent higher than in tradition ally owned mills. Plywood workers also receive a year-end division of profits, often amounting to sev eral thousand dollars, and have a valuable equity in their co-op shares.

On the other side of the country, the citizens and workers of upstate Vermont have owned the Vermont Asbestos Group mine for nearly four years; it has been spectacularly profitable while maintaining 175 jobs. When Herkimer, N.Y., was faced with the closing of its library furniture factory in 1976, the town bought the plant instead and is slowly selling it off to the workers. The success of the venture was proved when the plant recently bought out two of its competitors. Similar success stories are being written in Jamestown and Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

The impact of worker-community ownership on

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productivity and economic performance is still the subject of contentious debate, yet ample experience exists to quell most fears that it leads to declining efficiency. Paul Bernstein of the University of California at Irvine has found that output per hour of work is 36 to 43 percent higher in worker-owned plywood firms than in conventionally owned mills. The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, long in the red, earned profits in five of the six years following its purchase by the railroad's employees in 1972. At South Bend Lathe, in Indiana, within a year after workers began to buy the company through an employee stock ownership program, productivity increased 25 percent. After five unprofitable years under private ownership, South Bend Lathe is once again a successful business, with higher sales and wages. In each of these cases, management and workers agree that the great motivation, morale, and commitment associated with worker ownership has contributed to the improvements.

An added benefit of worker ownership is a commitment to maintain employment. Worker-owned factories are often labor-intensive, a plus in an era of high unemployment. The productivity increases that occur in such enterprises are all the more impressive because they are achieved without laying off workers. Ownership also reduces employee-related drags on economic performance: absenteeism, poor workmanship, high turnover, strikes, and so forth. Worker-owners are also uniquely qualified to help design and implement a resource-conserving production process. Energy savings of 20 percent are not uncommon.

Worker-community ownership is clearly not a panacea for solving all the human and economic problems caused by plant closings. For firms that are in dying industries or that are attempting to compete with outdated equipment, it might be better for everyone involved if they just closed up shop. Before launching a heroic effort to save a local industry, employees and townspeople must seriously consider the viability of the venture versus the alternative of attracting new, diversified industry to the locality to insure employment and economic growth. But as the economic situation worsens and conglomerate owners cast off their profitable but less glamorous components, there will be plenty of opportunity to test new patterns of ownership.

In this era of fiscal austerity, most of the money will have to come from the communities and workers themselves. In addition, worker ownership must include an expanded worker participation in management decision making. Unless employees have greater control over the work place, ownership will be a sham and many of the hoped-for economic benefits may not materialize. In 1975, two out of three Americans said they would prefer to work for an employee-owned and -controlled company if they were given the choice. Economic conditions are now forcing many workers into that situation. BRUCE STOKES

Bruce Stokes is a researcher with Worldwatch Institute in Washington, D.C. This article is drawn from his recent paper, "Worker Participation."

He Might Have Read The Nation (Continued)

Q. Was there a failure on the part of the C.I.A. to foresee the dangers to the Shah's Government, and what those dangers could mean to America's interests in that area?

Adm. Stansfield Turner: **. . . I know of no other intelligence service that predicted the problems in Iran. I know of no newspaper or academic journalists who predicted them in their writings. Clearly this caught up with the Shah without his recognizing it. I would suggest that even Ayatollah Khomeini didn't realize how well his force was moving along.**

—ABC's *Issues and Answers*, Feb. 4, 1979

Clearly, Admiral Turner has been caught not reading *The Nation* again—this time on national television. As we pointed out in our issue of February 3, *The Nation* published a number of articles, going as far back as 1960, in which the Shah's regime was portrayed as corrupt, repressive and unstable. On this same ABC program, under the persistent questioning of correspondents John Scali and Bob Clark, Admiral Turner finally resorted to splitting hairs: "We did not forecast that on the 5th of November this would suddenly well up into one big eruption that led to the departure of the Shah." If it comes to that, neither did we, or the other serious journals that were publishing articles of the same tenor as ours. The problem was a wrong policy—supporting the Shah fully despite his totalitarian excesses over two decades—and little information from the intelligence services that would move anyone to doubt this policy. (Scali cited documents, for example, ostensibly originating with the C.I.A.—Turner disagreed that they did—predicting that the Shah would be "an active participant in Iranian life well into the 1980s" and reporting that Iran was not in "a revolutionary, or even a pre-revolutionary situation.")

A routine file check of our subscription list indicates that the C.I.A. is not a subscriber—at least under its real name, although apparently a Texas office of the agency responded to a subscription solicitation only a couple of weeks ago. To make certain that *The Nation* penetrates to top echelons, we herewith form The Committee for an Informed C.I.A. (C.I.C.I.A.), and invite our readers to send gift subscriptions for *The Nation* to Langley, Va.

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ARTICLES.

PUBLIC RELATIONS SUIT

Sears to U.S.: 'So's Your Old Man'

ARYEH NEIER

As a lawsuit, the Sears complaint asking a halt to Government attempts to stop its employment discrimination is a fraud; but as a political stroke, it is masterly.

First the fraud. Sears, Roebuck & Company claims that in order for it to comply with laws requiring "special consideration" to veterans and prohibiting forced retirement because of age it would have to discriminate on the ground of race or sex. The problem with this claim is that these laws never played any part in initial hiring decisions. The Government is required by the laws to give veterans, most of whom were males, preference in its own hiring, but all that Sears and other private employers were required to do was to reemploy previously hired veterans when they returned from military duty. As for the law against mandatory retirement, it was first enacted in 1978. Since it is so new, it has not had time to affect the Sears work force significantly. To the extent that it has, it has merely reduced turnover, not dictated who gets hired.

The Federal law that bans discrimination on the ground of race or sex was enacted fifteen years ago. Is Sears saying that it had a low turnover during those fifteen years because it had to reemploy veterans it had hired previously? And that because it can't force retirement it couldn't hire women and minorities or place them in responsible posts? That is contradicted by the facts recited in the complaint the company has filed in Federal court. Sears says that it employs 417,211 persons, one out of every 200 persons in the national work force. Sears also says that one out of every thirty adult Americans has been or will be employed by Sears. Since the class comprising all adult Americans is larger than the national work force, this means that at least ten times as many living Americans as now work for Sears worked for Sears at some time—a very high turnover. The complaint also proves this by telling us that Sears made more than one million personnel decisions a year—decisions about hiring, firing, transfer and promotion—in each of the years since the Federal law against race and sex discrimination went into effect. What Sears's statistics show is that although the frequency with which employees are first hired or promoted may be reduced by other laws, Sears has been well able to comply with the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1964. If compliance had been made impossible by newer laws requiring reemployment of veterans or an end to forced retirement, Sears could defend itself successfully in any race and sex discrimination suit. This Sears can't do because it simply isn't true that those laws are to blame.

Sears is trying to portray itself as eager to provide equal employment opportunities and complaining that, because the Government has failed to enforce the civil rights laws, Sears can't employ a sexually and racially integrated work force. This only sounds plausible: Because minorities do not live in the same neighborhoods as whites, they do not attend the same schools. Because they do not attend the same schools, they do not qualify for the same jobs. Therefore, if the Government enforced all the civil rights laws and ended all housing segregation and school segregation, Sears would be able to employ a racially integrated work force.

The problem with this argument is that it ignores the part employers like Sears play in creating housing segregation and school segregation. If minorities don't hold the same jobs as whites, they cannot live in the same neighborhoods and attend the same schools. To achieve equality in one, there must be equality in all. Racial segregation cannot be ended unless the Government presses forward on all fronts simultaneously.

Sears says with a straight face that until such time as the Federal Government's policies have created a racially and sexually balanced work force, Sears and other employers should not have to comply with equal employment opportunity laws, as long as they don't engage in "intentional or purposeful discrimination." More clearly than all the rest of its lawsuit, this claim demonstrates Sears's insincerity. It asks the courts to overturn the unanimous decision written for the Supreme Court in 1971 by Chief Justice Warren Burger in the case of *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Company*, a decision as important to equal employment as *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was to equal education. *Griggs* says that the Equal Employment Opportunity Act prohibits not only intentional discrimination but also the establishment of criteria for employment that are unrelated to job performance and that have the effect of excluding women and minorities. For example, high school diploma requirements for jobs exclude many blacks, physical-strength requirements exclude a lot of women and height requirements exclude Hispanics, even though they may have nothing to do with the qualifications for particular jobs. As Burger wrote, "The touchstone is business necessity. If an employment practice which operates to exclude Negroes cannot be shown to be related to job performance, the practice is prohibited."

Under the pretext of asking the Government to present it with a racially and sexually balanced work force, Sears asks the courts to rob the Government of its most effective weapon for achieving that end.

Aryeh Neier, a member of The Nation's *editorial board, is visiting professor of law at New York University and a fellow of the New York Institute for the Humanities.*

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Equality cannot be won by waiting for the Government to solve the problem every place else before it knocks on the door of Sears and the other employers on whose behalf Sears purports to bring this lawsuit. The Government must demand that employers like Sears desegregate their work forces just as it must demand that schools desgregate education and that cities and suburbs desegregate housing.

Sears tosses in the allegation that the Federal Government has itself violated anti-discrimination laws. While the charge is true, as is often the case with "so's your old man" arguments, it has no relevance to the relief that Sears seeks from the Federal court. The evidence that Sears uses to show that the Government itself discriminates comes from efforts by branches of the Government to enforce the law against other parts. All this proves is that the Government is taking steps to put its own house in order at the same time that it is trying to force Sears to put its house in order.

The political genius of Sears's lawsuit lies in the publicity campaign it has orchestrated to accompany its filing. In fact, the lawsuit itself is little more than a lengthy press release. Anyone who complains about the burden of Federal regulations, especially regulations requiring racial and sexual desegregation, can always find a sympathetic audience. In this instance, by throwing up a smoke screen of charges that laws conflict with one another and that the Government itself is to blame because it hasn't solved all problems of inequality elsewhere, Sears has made itself the hero of every employer in the country who doesn't want to have to bother with racial or sexual desegregation.

The timing was perfect. The trade press has been reporting that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is about to file a massive discrimination suit against Sears. According to the Fairchild newspapers, the penalties the Government will seek will be greater than its $31 million settlement with the steel industry or its $32 million settlement with General Electric, and they quote Sears officials as acknowledging that its "lawsuit 'might be interpreted' as a pre-emptive strike against the E.E.O.C." By filing first, Sears makes the E.E.O.C. look as though its lawsuit is retaliatory. Sears also gets the advantage of a one-sided debate because Federal law forbids E.E.O.C. officials to disclose any information about discrimination practiced by Sears without the agreement of Sears during a conciliation period that is still underway.

The filing of the lawsuit will also serve as cover for Sears while it pursues business policies that will increase the sexual and racial segregation of its work force. Last fall, Sears began moving its women's apparel-buying department from New York to Chicago. The department employed 2,000 persons in New York, nearly half of them executives. At least in the lower positions, they included a significant number of women executives. Sears offered most of the executives in the New York office the opportunity to transfer to Chicago. Inevitably, such offers are more attractive to males in senior executive positions, most of whom come from one-career families, than to women in junior executive positions, most of whom come from two-career families. Sears might hire as many women in Chicago as it employed in New York, but they will come in without seniority, thus perpetuating the virtually all-male character of the senior executive staff at Sears.

The Sears lawsuit piously recites the fact that a majority of Sears stores are located in suburban areas and that "the racial makeup of the work force in those facilities is predominantly that of the surrounding community." What it does not say is that Sears is embarked on a program of closing stores in central cities and of opening new stores in suburbs. The effect, of course, will be to reduce job opportunities for minorities. As Sears becomes even more a suburban chain than it has been in the past, it will be more and more difficult for it to find blacks and Hispanics to hire.

No doubt Sears has business reasons for policies that will make it more difficult to desegregate its work force, though, at least in the case of the move of the women's apparel-buying office, they are impossible to comprehend. The apparel-buying market is concentrated in New York City and Edward Telling, the president of Sears, was quoted in *Women's Wear Daily* as saying that its purchases—last year, $782,600,000 from 1,100 suppliers in New York City and $382,500,000 from 470 suppliers elsewhere in the state—would not be affected. Telling also said that moving the department to Chicago would "improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire headquarters organization." He said nothing about its impact on employment opportunities for women.

Almost certainly, the Sears suit will be dismissed by the Federal courts. It will not happen quickly because Sears can be counted on to make the case drag on. While the case is pending, and perhaps thereafter, it will serve to stiffen the resistance of other employers to compliance with anti-discrimination laws and fuel a drive that is already underway in Congress to extract the few teeth in existing anti-discrimination machinery. When all is said and done, this seems to be the principal purpose of the lawsuit and the accompanying publicity campaign. One must grudgingly admire their effectiveness so far in serving this purpose. □

NEXT WEEK

Next week's issue will include an article based on sensitive material that came to us in the proverbial plain brown wrapper. The material involves the closed trial of an alleged C.I.A. operative and raises important questions about the use of the "national security" defense by intelligence officers. The other document, a Cabinet memorandum, also raises questions—namely, about the Carter Administration's domestic priorities.

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DEFENSE-BUDGET POLITICS

Carter's New Cold-War Coalition

GORDON ADAMS and DAVID A. GOLD

Defense spending has emerged as the key element of President Carter's economic, electoral and governing strategy for the 1980s. The new Federal budget is a blueprint for a new Democratic coalition, signaling the major effort now underway to shift the American political spectrum toward the right.

By increasing defense spending, Carter hopes to mollify the hawks in the Senate and in the country in order to gain Senate approval of the SALT treaty and to counter criticism that he is presiding over the decline of the United States as a world power. Domestically, Carter hopes to reduce inflation by cutting the Federal deficit while using the military dollar to avoid severe recession. The new political alliance that these policies are designed to attract differs markedly from the coalition that has dominated the Democratic Party over the last forty years. Labor, minorities and the cities will bear the costs.

The Carter strategy has its risks. The new weapons being developed could result in a less stable deterrent and a greater risk of nuclear war. Relying on defense to cushion the recessionary impact of the rest of the budget is likely to accelerate the negative consequences of defense spending on the United States economy over the past thirty years and lead to increased economic problems in the future. The task for the left is to define an alternate program, one that sees foreign and domestic policies and goals as inextricable. Reducing defense is the keystone of that strategy.

SALT is a critical element in the Administration's overall design of maintaining some limits on strategic weapons spending and perpetuating the economic and political ties between the United States and the Soviet Union. A SALT treaty will also preserve some degree of support among Democratic liberals for the President. The price of ratification demanded by the Senate cold warriors is the development of a new generation of weapons systems that will insure American nuclear superiority into the late 1980s. The proposed M-X missile—designed to succeed the land-based Minuteman ICBM force—is the key weapon in this political design. The Carter defens budget and the supplemental request combined con tain more than $900 million for the M-X system.

The SALT stratagem also dictates a request for a sec ond generation of sea-based Trident ballistic missiles The Trident II will have a range of more than 4,00 miles, which enables a wider submarine dispersa and makes targeting more difficult for the Sovie Union. The new air-launched cruise missile will als receive increased funding of $650 million for furthe development. The cruise missile is Carter's substitut for the abandoned B-1 bomber, but the new budge also requests $5 million to examine the future devel opment of manned penetrating bombers.

In the view of SALT critics, weapons superiorit must be matched by increased United States defense against nuclear war: air defenses, ballistic missile de fenses and civil defense. New defense systems coupled with the new weapons, could tip the nuclea balance into instability by stimulating renewed So viet weapons development and increasing the feasi bility of a first strike by the United States. The nev budget requests funds to explore the purchase of a air defense fighter/interceptor to match Soviet air de fense and to intercept the Soviet Backfire bomber Although the antiballistic missile was once dead, i has been revived in the form of $229 million worth o ballistic missile defense research and development Civil defense spending, to add more shelters and es cape routes for an attacked population, will be in creased, as the Administration finally responds t years of propaganda about Soviet civil defens programs.

Carter also justifies the 3 percent growth rate in de fense spending as the fulfillment of a pledge he mad to NATO nations to increase the United States' de fense spending in real terms. The reality of Soviet in tentions in Western Europe, Soviet troop concentra tions on its Chinese frontier and current NATO technical superiority, however, suggest that the "So viet threat" in Europe is overstated. The real motiv behind the increased budgeting for NATO is to reas sure our European and other global allies that th United States has not lost its will because of Vietnam Brandishing the "big stick" and conventional arm for NATO is an integral part of Carter's broader po litical strategy to hold the Democratic right and t maintain a capacity for limited nuclear war in Eu rope and the developing countries.

The new budget would greatly reinforce these ca pabilities. It increases NATO firepower by upgrad ing brigades and divisions in Europe to combat-ready and mechanized status and deploying more Ameri can soldiers on that continent. More and better air craft (F-15s and 16s) and more tanks (the new XM-1) and anti-tank weapons would counter the reported Warsaw Pact tank advantage. Increased orders for surface-to-air missiles and fighters also strengthen European air defenses. NATO nuclear strength, as well, would increase. The neutron bomb has effectively gone into production, despite Carter's earlier

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romise, and could be rapidly deployed. Carter apparently agreed, at Guadeloupe, to explore the development of a new medium-range nuclear missile, to e based in Europe and targeted on the Soviet Union.

In addition, the budget requests funds to improve Jnited States airlift capability. Repaired C-5As, expanded C-141s, and a new cargo/tanker version of the)C-10 will permit rapid deployment of United States)rces to Europe. They also clearly improve United tates capacities for intervention in such areas as the Middle East and Africa.

The burgeoning defense budget is justified as meeting the needs of national defense, yet the President imself undermined the credibility of this claim. As 'arter put it in his State of the Union address: "Just ne of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines—comprising less than 2 percent of our total uclear force of submarines, aircraft, and land-based nissiles—carries enough warheads to destroy every arge and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union." Aore funding for strategic weapons would appear, by efinition, to be excessive.

The possibility of reducing strategic spending while continuing to deter the Soviet Union suggests that our strategic forces have other purposes beyond deterrence. In fact, one of he implications of the proposed improvements over xisting forces is a significant change in the Pentagon's strategic doctrine, which is moving from deterence to what is called a "counterforce" or warighting capability. Opening this doctrinal door oints the way to limited nuclear war of the kind proosed by Energy Secretary James Schlesinger while Secretary of Defense. The temptations of weapons use ould become greater with such a strategy.

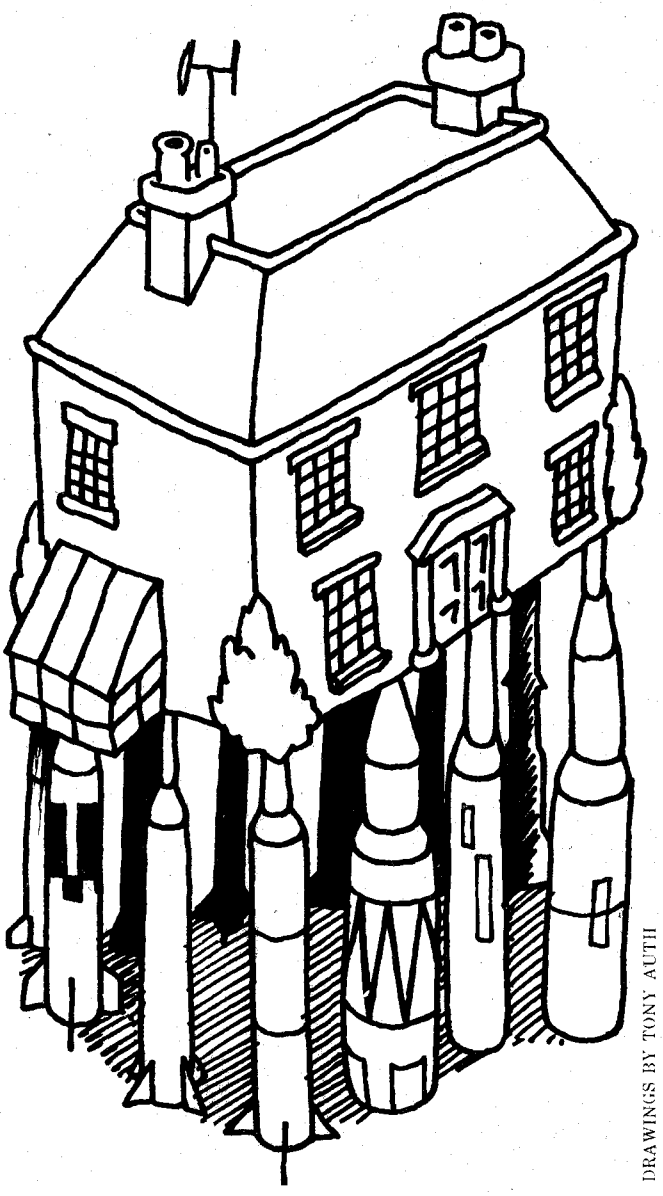
Beyond its effort to sell SALT and to demonstrate esolve to a breathlessly waiting world, the Carter defense budget is directed at some of the nation's economic problems, as well. For more than three decades, successive Administrations have looked at defense spending as a source of economic stimulation. Carter is no exception.

Should the expected 1979-80 recession prove severe, the Administration apparently hopes to prevent painful withdrawal symptoms with a "fix" of Pentagon cash. The defense budget is Carter's insurance that the recession, which is needed to cool off some of the inflationary pressures, will not be too deep or last too long, thereby damaging his re-election prospects. In key states such as California, Texas, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, an increase in defense spending should give the local economy a lift, with important electoral consequences in 1980.

There can be no doubt that defense spending can act as a powerful and flexible economic stimulant. It is equally clear that the United States has paid a severe price for using defense money this way. For the economy as a whole, high defense budgets have had negative consequences which have become more important over time.

Distortions in technological development are one result. At least one-third of the nation's research and development spending—more than $18 billion—is undertaken with Defense and NASA funds. A dollar spent researching exotic new weaponry is a dollar not spent upgrading the nation's machine tool industry, developing cheaper housing construction technology, or improving waste disposal. A Grumman F-14 Tomcat can fire at six targets simultaneously and track twenty-four others, while aging mass transit cars screech by on outmoded tracks and the steel industry slowly strangles on antiquated equipment. The resulting technological weaknesses play an important role in accounting for lagging productivity and export losses in the American economy.

Investment in military research and development is often justified as producing consumer spinoffs. The spinoffs we once received are dwindling, however, as equipment approaches degrees of sophistication that are unnecessary or too costly for commercial markets. And the spinoff argument begs the key question: if we want to improve civilian productivity, why not invest directly, rather than through the military?



DRAWINGS BY TONY AUTH

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Carter's overall strategy is designed to reduce the economic impact of the Federal budget and its contribution to inflation. Yet in expanding defense spending, he may well accomplish the reverse. The waste and inefficiency of defense contracting is widely known, and most recently acknowledged by Defense Secretary Harold Brown. This wastefulness, which is built into the Department of Defense contracting practices, has a long-term inflationary impact, since defense contracting companies pass their practices along into the large subcontracting structure. Future generations of weapons purchases are based on these "historic costs," which create additional inflationary spending in the future.

Perhaps worst of all for the economy is the impact of defense spending on employment. The Administration clearly wishes to create or maintain jobs in certain industries and in defense-dependent areas of the country. As defense workers are well aware, however, there is another side to this employment dependency. Defense spending has always been cyclical; when it declines, layoffs are immediate. At Rockwell International, nearly 2,000 workers were laid off the day after Carter announced the cancellation of B-1 production plans. The local economy often follows this work force into severe depression. Moreover, increases in defense spending, short of all-out spending for war, never bring employment in the industry back to previous high levels. Very simply, inflation and the increasing capital intensity of defense manufacturing mean that fewer and fewer jobs are created per dollar spent. Existing defense industry jobs are real and any freeze or reduction in defense spending would be an outrage if it did not include plans for alternative employment for those workers and civilian production for those defense plants.

Manipulating the defense dollar does not solve the basic unemployment problem in the United States. Department of Labor research indicates that almost any other part of the budget—education, health, housing, transportation—is more effective at creating employment. These are not jobs that employ many workers from the defense industry itself but they are jobs that would help tackle the chronic unemployment problems of the American labor force. If the Administration is truly interested in reducing unemployment it should increase spending for the public sector. In the long run, defense spending exacerbates national economic problems, in the service of the healthy look of the painted rose.

If rising military outlays are destructive economically and unnecessary for defense, why are they being undertaken? Part of the answer lies in the politics and internal dynamics of the military sector. The contract pipeline needs to be continually fed; new weapons emerge from the research and development network and need to be moved toward production or the network will tend to dry up, and Congressional districts hunger for the short-term economic zip that defense dollars provide.

The other part of the answer lies in the realm of political strategy. With the help of defense spending Carter is trying to piece together a new version of the centrist political coalition which has been the mainstay of every postwar Administration.

In the decades following World War II, America policy making was dominated by a coalition rooted in a strategy of expansion at home and abroad. The members of this coalition are familiar—big labor, minorities, ethnic groups, urban residents, portions of big business, internationalists, some cold warriors.

The coalition had a governing strategy whose outlines displayed a remarkable consistency. Domestically, the desire of the left for economic security and the desire of the right for free markets and high profits were translated into policies designed to achieve high rates of economic growth. The left was promised low rates of unemployment, the right was promised high profits and the absence of direct Government intervention in wages, prices and investment decisions. Keynesian economic policy would stimulate the economy without interfering too much with its workings. As described by Walter Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Kennedy Administration, economic growth would be both the pot of gold and the rainbow; it would obviate the need to rob Peter to pay Paul.

A similar concern with growth characterized the international aspects of the centrist governing strategy. Business wanted overseas economic expansion, liberal internationalists wanted a stable world order led by a nonisolationist United States, and the public wanted to avoid another war. The expansion of the American international role, desired by important segments of big business, was one means to expand the domestic economy. This was one of the crucial links that tied together an intricate web of foreign aid, United States military presence, United States economic expansion and anti-Communism. If the world economy could stimulate the domestic economy, there would be less need for state intervention. In addition, a large American economic and military presence would be a force for international stability.

Security for this international economic expansion and the ideological cement at home could be provided by anti-Communism. Seeing the world in geopolitical terms became an important, even dominant, element in the thinking of the policy makers. Military spending was crucial to this vision of the world. Not only could the American economy afford it, it would also provide economic stimulation, reducing the possibility of recession in the future.

As long as the economy was expanding, conflicts in American society could be papered over by expanding Federal programs, such as grants-in-aid, anti-poverty programs and welfare. The Johnson Administration was a key turning point. Johnson's attempt to have guns and butter started an inflationary spiral that has not yet subsided.

International changes also undermined the coalition strategy. Western European countries, which had provided open markets and willing investment

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partners, were stimulated by United States economic expansion and technology, and became formidable international competitors. The war in Vietnam demonstrated that the theory of containment lacked credibility. At the same time, the Soviet Union was playing catch-up, making the security of the American deterrent elusive, at best.

When economic growth could no longer provide the basis for the coalition in the early 1970s, it fell apart. After foundering for two years, Carter appears to have seized on a strategy of reassembling a centrist coalition with crucial differences from the traditional Democratic Party constituency.

Carter's new blueprint attempts to tie the middle class—a critical element much disaffected with government—to his political machine by retrenchment in public spending. At the same time, economic policies subsidize business through regressive tax benefits, deregulation of industry, and substantial government assistance for the promotion of exports. This course is also being pursued internationally by means of an American attempt to open the China market to American exports, the protection of strategic mineral supplies in Africa, pressure on Western European countries to expand their economies faster in order to purchase more American products and strengthen the dollar, and a more aggressive foreign arms sales program.

The defense budget remains a key element in Carter's strategy, and cannot be viewed in isolation. The historic cold-war orientation toward Europe and against the Soviet Union has been revived, although the differences are critical—Europe is a more equal partner and the Soviet Union is a more equal antagonist. Increased defense spending brings support for the SALT treaty and is designed to obtain support from the political right with a more expansive United States position internationally. International policies are linked to domestic budgetary priorities: cut inflation, while dulling the edge of the recession and seeking a source for long-term economic growth. Boosting defense spending at home is designed to tie the Democratic right, the middle class and the military-industrial complex to Carter's electoral and political goals.

The critical, perhaps fatal, difference between Carter's new coalition and past cold-war coalitions is that labor, minorities and the cities are paying the price of controlling inflation and are thus underwriting the expansion of defense spending. The midterm Democratic Party convention in Memphis indicated that Carter may also be sacrificing the traditional electoral left wing of the Democratic Party. It is up to this constituency to create a comprehensive alternative to Carter's strategy.

The first step is to recognize the close links between the size and composition of the defense budget and the Administration's political and economic goals. Partial criticism of the budget, focusing on this or that wounded or canceled program, perpetuates the disunity of the party's left and provides no hope for an alternative. Arguments that the defense budget is wasteful and that social spending should have priority must be linked to efforts to alter the strategic and foreign policy perspectives underlying the budget. Otherwise, a cold-war foreign policy will be used continually to deflect domestic criticism; the Soviet threat will be refurbished to counter claims that defense spending is not needed.

The reduction of inflation, which is a real social issue, a change in the present foreign policy, renewed public investment in domestic technology, stiffer price controls, local and national planning, a reordered domestic economy, are all elements that must be considered in formulating a new program for the left in the 1980s. But only reductions in defense budgets can create the proper environment in which this program can take root and grow. □

PENSION POWER

The Unions' Hidden Asset

DEDRA HAUSER

American labor unions are sitting on a huge pool of money that could profoundly alter their power in this country, much in the way that Arab oil upset the international balance of power by creating OPEC. The unions' monetary oil pool is $200 billion in collectively bargained pension funds, now largely managed by banks and corporations.

Pension money has become a crucial underpinning of the American economy. Total public and private pension fund investments are worth around $500 billion and are growing at the rate of 10 percent annually. Pension funds own nearly one-quarter of all the outstanding stock of companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange. The exchange estimates that such funds will supply more than half of the $250 billion in equity capital needs of corporations between now and 1985.

By ceding control of their pension funds to the financial establishment, unions have become the unwitting backers of companies that are hostile to labor and that resist measures to improve the safety and well-being of workers. This was documented at recent Congressional hearings on pension funds held by Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D., Ohio). The Corporate Data Exchange, a New York research group, presented a study showing that the pension moneys of union members were routinely invested in companies that are predominantly nonunion, had poor records of compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity

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Commission and Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations, or lend financial support to South Africa.

The study identified thirty-two corporations that met at least one of the above criteria. Analyzing a $100 billion sample of pension fund portfolios, C.D.E. found that one-third of it was invested in these thirty-two companies at the end of 1976. These funds owned a total of 11.2 percent of Texas Instruments' outstanding stock, for example. The company's anti-union tactics were exposed in 1977 by a *Wall Street Journal* reporter who worked at Texas Instruments. Union funds, representing 75 percent of the total pension assets studied by C.D.E., held investments of $136 million in Texaco stock. C.D.E. identified Texaco as nonunion, a chief violator of OSHA regulations and a major investor in South Africa.

"Responsible trade unionists have to conclude that they have been financing their own destruction," said William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, in his testimony at the hearings. He noted that "only tradition and a great con game have kept pension funds in the control of the private sector giants."

Legislation designed to protect the retirement income of workers has resulted in a system of pension administration that gives unions limited control over their pension assets. Of the roughly $150 billion in private collectively bargained pension funds, $100 billion is unilaterally administered and controlled by corporations, as required by the Taft-Hartley law. Workers in the auto, steel and rubber industries have no voice in how their retirement money is invested. The remaining $50 billion of private union pension funds is jointly administered by union and management trustees.

Regardless of who administers the funds, most investment decisions are delegated to professional money managers in the banks and in insurance companies. "Union people don't understand the nomenclature of investments, so they go along with the investments advised by bankers," says I. Philip Sipser, a labor lawyer who represents twenty unions in the pension field.

Through their control over pension investments, America's largest banks have buttressed their dominant role in American industry. The top ten banks alone manage $80 billion of pension funds. They have developed a pension investment policy that favors their best customers, the *Fortune* 500 companies.

Senator Metzenbaum says that pension money is being used by these banks to "build empires." In a speech before the Retirement Income Conference last fall, he noted that the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, through its management of $15 billion in pension funds, "has enormous influence in chemicals and construction, soft drinks and food processing, drugs, real estate, steel, textiles, tires and on and on into virtually every sector of the economy."

This cozy relationship between the top banks and corporations has cost workers millions of dollars in pension benefits. Pension assets would have grown more in a savings account than they did under the aegis of professional money managers. Between 1966 and 1976, banks averaged a 4.4 percent annual return on their pension fund investments in the stock market, 33 percent less than the average return of the Standard & Poors 500 stocks index. In *The North Will Rise Again—Pensions, Politics and Power in the 1980's*, authors Jeremy Rifkin and Randy Barber write, "The record of bank investments of pension funds is so poor that one is forced to conclude that either the investment community is virtually incompetent or the system in which it is investing is on its deathbed, or both. In either case, it raises some fundamental questions about who should control pension capital investments in the future and for what ends that capital should be used."

Winpisinger addressed these questions in his testimony before Senator Metzenbaum's Subcommittee on Citizens and Shareholders Rights and Remedies. He said that the financial community has created a legal smoke screen to maintain its control over pension assets. He noted that "There is nothing in the law that says these funds have to be turned over to a few giant banks and insurance companies to be loaned to fifty or 100 giant multinational corporations." He suggested that unions channel more of their pension assets into socially constructive investments such as Government-guaranteed mortgages. "For those not easily intimidated by the legal scare tactics of employers and their hired guns," he said, "there is room to maneuver in the limbo of pension fund management and control and, at the same time, fulfill the fiduciary responsibility and prudent man obligation."

This month, Metzenbaum's subcommittee will hear Government experts testify on the legal definition of fiduciary responsibility and the "prudent man rule" under the complex and labyrinthine Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974. The definition of these terms is crucial to the labor movement's participation in pension investment.

The financial community claims that under the E.R.I.S.A. it cannot consider social criteria in its investment decisions. Pension fund administrators have used the law to justify investing primarily in the blue-chip stocks of giant corporations. But as Winpisinger told the subcommittee, "What prudent man would exercise full fiduciary responsibility by investing his money in the recent stock markets?"

The resounding defeat of the Labor Law Reform bill last year suggests that unions would have a difficult time passing legislation that would increase their control and latitude over pension investments. But the labor movement is examining ways to reallocate pension moneys under the current laws. At its national convention in 1977, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. passed a resolution urging member unions to assign their pension assets to "financial institutions whose investment policies are not inimical to the welfare of working men and women." The federation's social security and

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ndustrial union departments are investigating ways f making pension funds work for organized labor. Several local and state governments are also addressing this issue. An independent state council in Massachusetts is looking for constructive investments within the state for its state pension moneys. California already applies social criteria to the selection of tate pension investments. Wisconsin, Cleveland, New Haven and Hartford are examining the allocation of their pension moneys.

Greater union and community control over pension nvestments will not be achieved overnight or without struggle. The financial community will resist relinquishing control over this strategic pot of money. And nost union leaders are hesitant about taking an aggressive posture on the issue. Veteran labor journalist A.H. Raskin says union leaders are reluctant to involve themselves in pension decisions for fear of being held responsible when the funds perform poorly. Richard Days, union administrator of a $10 million United Auto Workers pension fund, says the scandal over abuse of the Teamsters pension funds has frightened a lot of union people.

The legal ramifications are a major worry among union leaders. Lawrence Smedley, associate director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s social security department, says that experts differ about legal roadblocks to greater union involvement in managing pension funds. Labor attorney Sipser says the legal issues are much more complex than the Rifkin-Barber book, *The North Will Rise Again*, indicates.

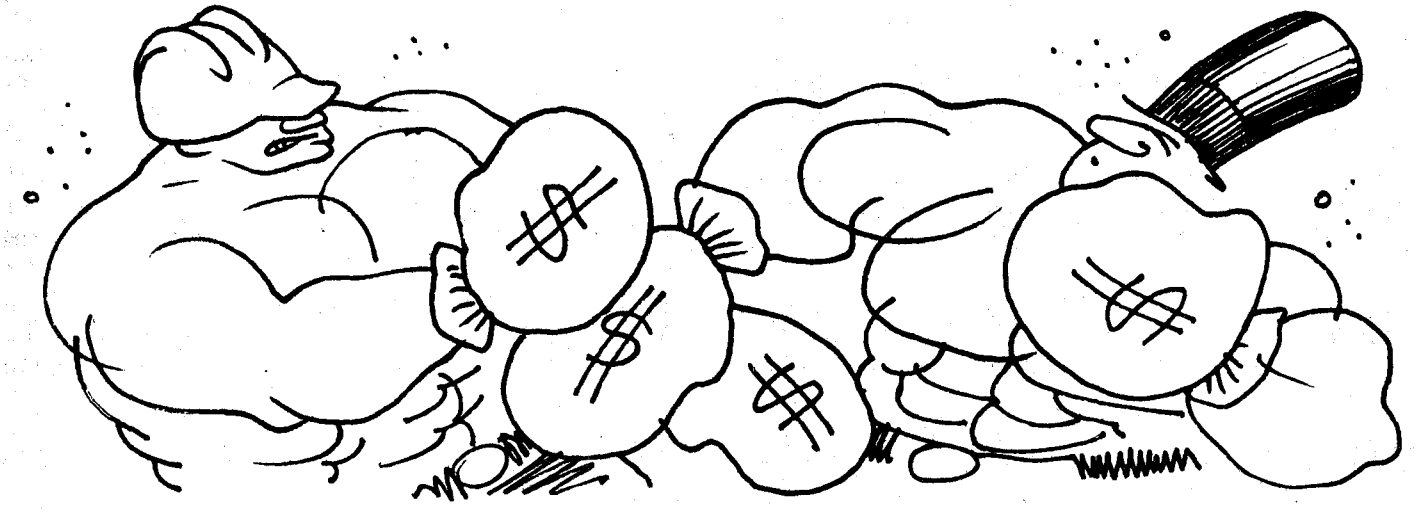
Rifkin and Barber argue that unions and local governments can channel their pension assets into investments that are both profitable and in the interests of organized labor. If the widespread forecasts of a capital shortage over the next few decades are accurate, access to pension funds will be crucial to many corporations. By taking an activist role in the administration of pension funds, Rifkin and Barber argue, union and government pension trustees could make investment decisions conditional on a company's social responsibility. To participate directly in policy making, they could use stock held by a pension fund to vote their representatives onto corporate boards. If unions and government pension trustees begin to play an activist role in pension administration, they claim, corporations will have to woo unions and municipalities as they have the banks.

Ultimately, Rifkin and Barber believe, all unions and government agencies should demand a voice in the investment of their retirement incomes. They recommend the formation of a pension coalition between unions and local governments in the Northeast and Middle West. By pooling their collective investments this coalition could revitalize the dying industrialized regions where most union members live and work.

There are signs that some unions are moving in this direction. United Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride has warned the steel industry in public statements that control of pension funds could be a major issue in 1980 contract negotiations. Barber and Rifkin have met with union locals around the country to discuss pension strategies. Locals in New York and California have already excluded South African-related investments from their pension portfolios.

The most dramatic proof to date of union pension power has been the corporate campaign of Ray Rogers. A 34-year-old former VISTA volunteer and disciple of Saul Alinsky's organizing techniques, Rogers has spearheaded a highly unusual campaign against J.P. Stevens and Company for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. His goal is to alienate Stevens, which has resisted unionization for fifteen years, from the business community. His targets are companies tied to Stevens through interlocking directorates.

Rogers's first target was the Manufacturers Hanover bank, which had two Stevens directors on its board. His most potent weapon was union pension funds managed by the bank. Threatened with the withdrawal of $1 billion in union funds, Manufacturers Hanover Trust removed the Stevens directors from its board. The success of this campaign proved that the labor movement can have tremendous impact on the banking industry through the placement of its funds. In subsequent campaigns against Avon



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Products and the New York Life Insurance Company, Rogers showed that pension funds are only one source of unions' power over corporations. The campaign against Stevens has awakened unions to a panoply of economic weapons.

The pension-fund-withdrawal strategy is being used on the West Coast by the Airline Pilots Association in Alaska, and the Financial Institutions Employees of America, Retail Clerks Local #1182, which are mobilizing pension and other union moneys to influence Seattle First National Bank. After unsuccessfully waging a one-year strike against Wien Air Alaska, the pilots turned to Rogers for help. He arranged for them to meet with the Retail Clerks Local #1182, which was trying to negotiate a contract for 4,700 employees of Seattle First National.

Because the bank had loaned $27 million to Wien Air Alaska, the local decided to inform union pension clients of Seattle First National about the bank's anti-labor policies. They are demanding that Seattle First National negotiate in good faith with the Retail Clerks and exert pressure on Wien Air Alaska to recognize the rights of its workers. The Washington State Labor Council (A.F.L.-C.I.O.) last summer threw in its support to the campaign by threatening to withdraw its member unions' funds if the bank didn't change its anti-labor policies.

Unions around the country are enlisting Ray Rogers to help develop corporate campaigns against anti-union companies. He is consulting with the Pilots Association of Northwest Airlines, the Glass Bottle Blowers International, a group of newspaper unions, and locals boycotting the Winn Dixie stores.

Rogers is introducing union locals to political campaign technology and business marketing techniques that are crucial to the mobilization of pension moneys. In a speech before the Teamsters last summer, Rogers stressed this aspect of his organizing strategy: "Unions must use today's highly sophisticated computerized systems that corporations use against them. They must use these systems to store vital information on their members and their financial resources so that they can most effectively mobilize and channel their collective economic power."

But most unions cannot mobilize their pension power. Under current legislation, only unions with jointly administered funds can directly influence pension investments. What's more, they have to convince their corporate co-trustees to back them up.

Without accepting fiduciary responsibility under E.R.I.S.A., union pension trustees could still exercise greater control over the allocation of pension money than they do today. One way would be to follow Winpisinger's suggestion and place a portion of their funds in Government-guaranteed mortgages, or with the union-owned Union Labor Life Insurance Company; they could also develop new investment guidelines in cooperation with their professional money managers. Several banks are reportedly scrambling to create investment-advisory services tailored to union priorities.

Unless unions are content to accept a bank's assessment of a corporation's performance on union issues, however, the labor movement will have to develop its own system for monitoring and evaluating corporate actions. When unions begin seriously to challenge the investment decisions of the financial establishment, they will set the stage for a prolonged power struggle. The late Senator Philip Hart said that the battle over control of pension funds will be the "central structural and policy problem of the American economy and society for years to come."

The establishment of a strong labor coalition whose members agree on pension allocation is essential if unions are to challenge bank control of pensions. Like the member nations of OPEC, unions will have to establish a strong, stable labor coalition to challenge bank control of pension funds. As Ray Rogers told the Teamsters: "Unions must confront giant corporate capital with workers' capital. They must confront interlocking corporate power with interlocking workers' power." □

APRES MAO LE DELUGE

The Taiwanese Want Their Island Back

DONALD KIRK

Taipei

The Taiwanese in the end were ignored. Amidst all the organized hoopla in Peking and Washington and the staged outrage here over "normalization" of relations between the United States and China, no one considered the wishes or interests of well over three-fourths of the island province's 17 million people.

No one, that is, but the Taiwanese themselves. "For the United States to maintain relations with the Kuomintang Government for thirty years and then withdraw with no consideration of us is like leaving a table in complete disarray," said a Taiwanese released six months ago after spending fifteen years in prison for having attempted to organize a group of Taiwanese military school students to infiltrate the armed forces. "This is a marked failure in United States diplomacy."

Certainly, transference of American recognition from the Kuomintang regime here to the Communist

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one in Peking has clouded the immediate future of the struggle by the native Taiwanese for real political autonomy. For one thing, the ruling Kuomintang now has the perfect excuse for cracking down more severely than ever on the opposition. The Government of Chiang Ching-kuo, heir to his father, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, signaled tough times ahead when it postponed elections that were already proving a political embarrassment. A coalition of Taiwanese known as the Tan Wai or Non-Party—political parties other than the KMT are illegal—was campaigning for some fifty candidates for the Yuan, or assembly. Although usually denied permission to speak, Non-Party candidates often addressed rallies in defiance of Government orders. KMT heavies responded by organizing "students" to throw eggs at them.

The real threat the elections posed to the KMT was that most of the Non-Party candidates would have won. Victory would have given them little real power, for they were running only for those seats allotted to representatives of Taiwan in a body that still purports to speak for all of China. (The other mainland provinces have had their "representatives" in the Taiwan legislature since the flight from the mainland by Chiang's defeated army in 1949.) Nonetheless, a vociferous anti-KMT minority in the assembly could effectively heighten the noise level of dissent from a spectrum of Taiwanese, ranging from intellectual radicals to conservative businessmen. Now, however, the KMT can use the bogy of "abandonment" and "betrayal" by the United States to whip up support for its monolithic policies and silence the dissidents. The Government has already banned three books by or about Taiwanese activists, two of them candidates in the aborted elections. There is talk of prohibiting two Taiwanese student groups and shutting down some magazines.

"The KMT is using this opportunity to strengthen martial law," said a professor during a wide-ranging discussion that he had set up for me with some of his Taiwanese students and Non-Party workers. "Now the atmosphere is terribly tight," noted a Taiwanese editor. "They are not going to permit organized support for our candidates. We are afraid the hawks in the KMT will exercise still tighter control." The Government can do so in part by exploiting the recent growth of anti-Americanism among students. "They arranged that eggs and tomatoes be thrown at the American diplomats after recognition of Peking," said one student at National Taiwan University. "They called each department and gave a quota of demonstrators." Since then, the KMT has orchestrated stories in the press blaming "national reverses" on those who have opposed its rule. "The Government will use patriotic feelings to repress the opposition," said a Non-Party worker, arrested several months ago but released after an article about her appeared in European papers. "Then it will use the elections to legitimize its rule."

The KMT faces a rather delicate problem of timing. If it holds the elections quite soon, according to one view, then it can ride the emotion aroused by American "betrayal" to overwhelming success at the polls. There is a contradiction in this logic, though, in that the KMT has long since recovered from its own initial burst of anti-American fervor and gone back to business as usual. Government leaders fully realize that they are, if anything, more dependent than ever upon the United States, both economically and militarily. Total commerce between Taiwan and the United States was more than $10 billion last year with the balance of trade nearly two to one in Taiwan's favor. Prime Minister Y.S. Sung allayed the fears of American businessmen by assuring them that the "quality of life" would continue to be as pleasant as ever, with all the comforts in education, security and cheap help to which they have long been accustomed. At the same time, the military establishment submitted elaborate shopping lists for the most sophisticated American weapons—the better to confront a Communist menace from across the straits that few observers here seriously believe will materialize in the foreseeable future.

Indeed, a key factor in the Taiwanese dilemma is that Peking seems as disinterested in the fate of the native Taiwanese as does the KMT. Reports from Peking indicate that officials there are reluctant to endorse a "Taiwan people's uprising," as they have done previously, so long as there is the slightest hope of a deal with the KMT. China's Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping has suggested direct talks with Taiwanese authorities and evidently means to hold to that goal even though Chiang Ching-kuo has summarily rejected the idea. Deng, moreover, may be reluctant

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to offend either the United States or, for that matter, Japan, which has carried on trade and investment here second only to the United States' since recognizing Peking seven years ago. Deng's refusal to rule out force in taking Taiwan offers little cheer for the Taiwanese, few of whom have the remotest interest in a war in which they would inevitably suffer the most in the KMT's death struggle.

"The Taiwanese are greatly confused," gloated an American official who was supervising the transformation of the American diplomatic presence here from an embassy to a private "institute" which will perform the same functions. "The mainland is not about to approve of Taiwanese independence." Leaders of the Non-Party, though, appear to be proceeding more shrewdly than that simplistic assessment would indicate. Immediately after the elections were canceled, the party issued a call for the complete reelection of the Taiwan Government, including all governors, magistrates and mayors, for the abrogation of martial law and for freedom of the press. Then they obtained the signatures of more than a hundred of the most influential Taiwanese politicians. "To sign this declaration you had to be against the KMT," said a Non-Party member. "That separated the real ones from the phonies." In other words, the Non-Party purified itself of members who had been co-opted by the KMT.

Actually, the Taiwanese opposition, with little real sympathy or support from abroad, is going strong. Taiwanese politicians are holding dinner meetings and rallies throughout the island and plan to have campaign offices set up whenever the Government reschedules the elections, as it is required to do by the Constitution. Beneath a veneer of unity, KMT inner circles are divided between those who favor immediate harsh measures to repress the Taiwanese and those who prefer harassment and propaganda. The hard-liners may be ahead if the arrests on January 21 of two of the most popular activists, Yu Teng-fa and his son, Yu Jui-yen, on what appear to be trumped-up charges of plotting against the Government, are any indication. (They are alleged to have collaborated with a Peking spy who purportedly gave Yu Jui-yen a copy of an order for "revolutionary mobilization.")

Ultimately, the regime's dictatorial approach could be its undoing. The KMT can no longer throttle dissent without dangerously alienating the populace. The evidence from the countryside is that farmers and workers do not take KMT statements seriously. Educated Taiwanese can find Government positions in scientific and technical fields, but the mainland Chinese reserve the policy-making jobs for themselves. Taiwanese, for instance, had no say in the series of delicate talks with American officials on future relations. The United States has gladly played into the KMT's hands by not raising the question of the future role of the Taiwanese. Now is the time for American negotiators to speak up for the majority—while they still hold a certain bargaining power. So far no American official has broached "human rights" as a cause for concern here at all. It is an omission that will some day prove costly—in economic, diplomatic as well as human terms. □

HOW YOU GONNA KEEP 'EM. . .

Farm-Land Bonanza

JAMES KROHE Jr.

Prime American farm land is disappearing at the rate of 4 square miles a day, 1 million acres a year, according to a report by the Council on the Environment released on January 25. No, it is not a new dust bowl; what is eroding the land is money rather than nature. Developers buy it for tract housing and shopping malls; speculators and investors buy it as a nonagricultural investment. Together, they have created a boom in farm land that is threatening to undermine the traditional patterns of American agriculture and impelled farmers themselves to assume crushing mortgages and petition Washington for higher price supports.

Farm census computers inform us that 32 percent of all American farm land is owned by someone other than the persons who farm it. Exactly who these landlords are the computers do not say; it has only been recently that the question was considered worth asking. It is a miscellaneous cast certainly—farm widows, big-city dentists, banks, coal companies, Italian pasta magnates, tax-sheltering movie actors, suburban subdividers.

There's big money to be made in farm land these days—more than from farming. Grain prices are rising, but so are costs, and some major crops such as feed corn are still selling for less than it costs to grow them. But between 1971 and 1976, prices paid for farm land in the United States rose by an average of 98 percent, two and a half times faster than prices in general. Even a suburban split-level could not match the rise in value of an acre of Iowa dirt, which appreciated almost twice as fast.

In the early years of the farm-land boom it was farmers, buying and selling to other farmers, who were making the money. But more recently, investors from the city who don't know a chisel plow from a corn crib have joined the crowds at farm auctions, and many farmers have added the land speculators to their pest list along with cutworms, consumerists and bureaucrats.

Land prices began taking off in 1972 when there was a sudden demand for American crops overseas, following several lean harvests. Commodity prices

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shot skyward, and farmers used those dollars to buy more land in an attempt to put more acres into production while grain prices were good, or to expand their operations and make more efficient use of expensive machinery. As a result, they bid up the price of prime land. Even when grain prices stumbled after a string of bumper crops, land prices paused for breath for only a quarter or two before climbing up again.

Higher land values themselves became a reason to buy more. Farmers (mostly established operators who could borrow on their older, cheaper holdings) continued to buy on the assumption that prices would only go higher, so a smart man should buy while he could still afford it. (In many cases he bought when he couldn't afford it; there were 5,000 farm foreclosures in 1977, 50 percent more than the year before.) As recently as 1968, a University of Illinois economist entitled a paper, "Is $900 Per Acre Too Much for Farmland?"; ten years later, an acre near the school's Urbana campus was sold at auction for more than $4,000.

Until the early 1970s farm land held few charms for the nonfarm investor; land prices through the 1960s, for example, failed even to keep pace with inflation. But since 1973, farm land in the Middle West had gone up in value by some 250 percent while the Dow Jones industrials were going down by 6 percent. Those numbers added up to a buy signal for many investors, especially those who were interested in dependable, rather than quick, profits. In inflationary times, farm land offered both security and long-term appreciation. For the pension-fund managers and insurance companies looking for a more reliable friend than the stock market, for the young professionals socking away earnings toward retirement, for foreigners seeking to shield funds from the inquiring eyes of currency officials, American farm land began to look like pay dirt.

Some brokerage firms (e.g., Merrill Lynch, et al.) have set up agribusiness departments. Last May, *The New York Times* reported that two Wall Street houses were assembling packages for what were described as "high-income investors . . . interested in a blend of modest tax shelter, comparatively low current income, and the prospect of lusty long-term capital gains." For $40,000 each, investors would be able to buy into 1,000 acres of irrigable farm land in western Nebraska and eastern Colorado. The land would be planted, probably in wheat, but the harvest would be "sale of the acreage in about eight or twelve years out and the hope of realizing the kind of capital gains that have historically made farm land just about one of the best investments around."

It was that same hope that led to the creation of Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company's Ag-land Fund I in the winter of 1977. Under the plan, the bank would use $50 million in pooled pension funds to buy Middle Western farm land. The land would be worked by tenants overseen by managers operating out of Continental's LaSalle Street offices in Chicago's financial district. The land would be held for long-term capital gain, then sold—possibly, the bank said, to the farmers who had been hired to work it.

Ag-land ignited an explosion of protest from farm groups that rattled windows up and down LaSalle Street and forced Continental eventually to withdraw the plan. At a House agriculture subcommittee hearing on the plan, bankers insisted that "the earlier mode in which ownership is more important than entrepreneurship" was helping make the family farmer an endangered species. Opponents (including Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland, himself a farmer) argued that such schemes would produce a generation of sharecroppers, that small-town grain, chemical and equipment dealers would starve as fund managers bought supplies in bulk from a few big distributors, and that tax-exempt status as a retirement fund, which the bank sought, would put working farmers at a competitive disadvantage.

But it was Ag-land's threat to farm ownership that most troubled farmers. Land is much more than a living to a farmer. It is the repository of his wealth (in many cases the only one he trusts), his traditions, his identity, his future; the family-owned farm is the brick from which rural society is built. The United States Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service examined Continental's proposals and warned against "the potential negative aspects of such funds" (an opinion seconded by the General Accounting Office), confirming farmers' own fears that they might eventually be bid off the land.

Professional Farmers of America, a respected farm-management consultant firm operating out of Cedar Falls, Iowa, wondered about the effects of farm-land speculation in a report titled, "How High Will Land Go?" The report cited a Purdue University agriculture economist, who explained that land was being purchased by both farmers and nonfarmers like common stock, with no expectation of income, beyond protection against inflation, then asked, "Is land in this country finally becoming a storehouse of value, rather than an asset on which an owner demands a competitive return on investment?" Last summer, Representative Ron Marlenee, a Republican from Montana, answered that question during hearings into foreign investment in American farm land. "What you're doing," he said, "is really sacrificing the agricultural aspect of the land."

According to one rule of thumb that farm economists use to compute the "proper" value of farm land, an acre is worth about four times the value of what it can produce per year. An acre of corn land that produces 150 bushels of feed corn that sells at $2.15 per bushel (the January price in many Middle Western elevators) should be worth some $1,290. But the best land in many parts of the Corn Belt is going for two or three times that amount. The ratio of land prices to earnings is the highest in twenty years. This squeeze between high land costs and low income has made

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farm land "a lousy investment from a cash-flow standpoint," as Professional Farmers of America analysts put it. It is a painful squeeze, too, in an era when more acreage and higher-volume production is the only way the family farmer can keep the auctioneer from his door. But speculators, farmers grumble, don't look at the land from a cash-flow standpoint.

The foreign investors are the most conspicuous players in the farm-land sweepstakes. A cursory survey by the General Accounting Office in 1978 revealed that as much as $1 billion is being spent by nonresident aliens on United States farm properties every year—this in a farm-land market that averages roughly $15 billion annually. A cry of alarm has gone up from farm spokesmen, who worry that foreigners loaded down with cheap dollars will only fuel the speculative fires and further help drive the family farmer off the farm.

Sympathetic Congressmen came to the rescue with legislation requiring that foreigners report all acquisitions of farm land in the United States. The thirty or so states that have laws banning or restricting alien ownership of farm land dusted them off and those states lacking such laws (Illinois, for example) set about getting them. This has brought charges that legislators were pandering to the farmers' traditional xenophobia. As one observer noted to the press, to many farmers an Arab is anyone from farther away than sixty-five miles who wants to buy land.

The storm raised by foreign ownership has momentarily obscured the broader issue of the threat land speculation poses to the traditional American system of dispersed, family-owned farms. In the end it matters little whether speculative capital comes from Bonn or Chicago or Abu Dhabi. (Or Mattoon, Ill.; it should be remembered that beneath a farmer's Oshkoshes there beats the heart of a squire, and most of the speculating in farm land so far has been done by farmers.) A steady drop in farm income would ordinarily bring farm-land prices down too, but it hasn't in the corn and soybean belts of the Middle West where land costs are highest and prices paid farmers among the lowest.

What worries some experts, then, is that the land price boom may reach a point at which rapid appreciation brings in increasing investment from off-farm sources, cutting land prices loose from the customary restraints of farm income and in the process cutting many family farmers loose from any hope of catching up with them. A Professional Farmers of America analyst warns: "Inflation is the propellant now behind land prices, and as long as enough buying power arises from somewhere to feed that anticipation, land will go on up."

Some of that buying power is still on the farm, in the form of farm land that hasn't yet been refinanced. But a lot of it is abroad, in the form of (using the P.F.A.'s phrase) "some $500 billion in foreign-held dollars looking for a long-term home," or on Wall Street and similar financial avenues. Observers point out that big banks like Chicago's Continental Illinois still think that schemes like Ag-land Fund I make economic sense, when the political climate is more hospitable.

The effects on American agriculture of a too-precipitous rise in values are not likely to be beneficial either to individual farmers or, ultimately, consumers. The effects include more farm debt (and debt-caused foreclosures); acceleration of the trend toward fewer and bigger farms run by fewer and older farmers (in farming, the rich get richer, while the poor get jobs in the city); increased concentration of production (already 5 percent of American farms account for 47 percent of cash receipts for farm products) with its attendant dangers of monopolization; neglect of the productive resources of the land by speculators interested only in its price; possible land-price busts caused by nervous speculators pulling out and causing farmers' holdings to drop in value, and absentee corporate managements that buy their supplies and do their banking in big cities instead of small towns.

Of course, there are those who accuse farmers of a tendency to think in melodramatic terms—that a habitual expectation of disaster follows inevitably from the nature of their work. Possibly; it may be that the dozens of bills on the books or being argued in farm states to ban or restrict ownership of farm land by nonfarmers are not just unconstitutional (as some allege) but unnecessary as well. But their existence reveals a deep anxiety on the part of farmers about their land and their future on it. □

P.L.O.

(Continued from Front Cover)

formally recognized by the P.L.O. as expressing their policies. And efforts to draw the West Bank mayors into the negotiations have failed because they are seen (or denounced) by the mayors themselves as an attempt to avoid recognizing Yasir Arafat.

Every so often, it is rumored that the Palestinians will set up a government in exile, ostensibly headed by their more cosmopolitan intellectual layer—men like Prof. Walid Khalidi and Farouk Khaddoumi. The success of the P.L.O. mission at the United Nations—attested to recently by Ambassador Andrew Young when he grudgingly praised its effectiveness—has encouraged those who favor the formation of a provisional government. Clearly, such a government would have little difficulty in attracting recognition from most countries, not including the United States. And it could certainly open more em-

Christopher Hitchens, foreign editor of the New Statesman *in London, recently returned from a trip to the Middle East.*

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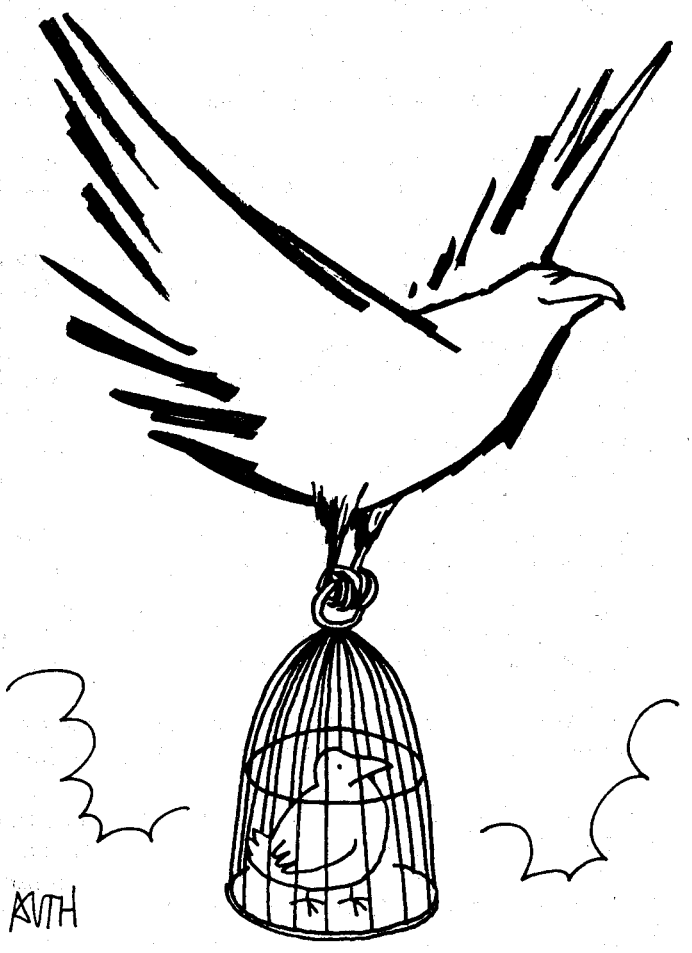

bassies around the world than Israel has. Abu Iyad, Arafat's deputy in Al Fatah, has written in his new book, "The main reason for our failures lies in our ignorance of the Western world and the complexities of the democratic mechanisms that regulate it."

But a provisional government could have a much more important role in the dense and complicated territory between Jerusalem and the Allenby Bridge. Before his death, President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria was urging the P.L.O. very forcefully to adopt the government-in-exile policy. He recalled that, although the French always said that they would never negotiate directly with the "fighters" of the Front de Liberation Nationale, when an exile Government was declared in neighboring Tunis, the French decided they could do business with it, and eventually negotiated with it in Evian.

Deftly handled, a Palestinian analogue of this could not only make the present negotiations less remote from the people affected but could lift the stifling ban in the West Bank on any opinions that are not pro-Israeli, pro-Hussein or pro-P.L.O. And, realistically, of the three parties mentioned, the P.L.O. would have the least to fear from a resurgence of political activity on the West Bank.

Still, at the moment the P.L.O. leadership is under little pressure to change what might be termed its conventional stand. It cannot be said too strongly that the Baghdad alliance and the collapse of Israel's friend in Teheran have reduced any pressure for concessions from the Palestinians. The Baghdad alliance, especially insofar as it pushed for a "federation" between Syria and Iraq, has had another beneficial fallout for Arafat. It ended the mini-civil war between the Palestinian clients of each of the regimes—at least for the time being. The Iraqis recently offered to arrange a meeting of reconciliation between Arafat and Sabri Khalil Banna (code-named Abu Nidal), the Palestinian renegade allegedly responsible for the assassination of a number of P.L.O. moderates like Said Hammami in London last year. (See Hitchens: "Blood Feuds Among the Palestinians," *The Nation*, Sept. 2, 1978.) But Arafat felt secure enough to refuse any reconciliation with the man who had murdered so many of his colleagues and friends.

Thus, even those moderate Palestinians who have studied in Israel and know its people and customs are unimpressed with Menachem Begin's proposed "autonomy" plan—no matter how its "linkage" is presented in the Camp David accords. Sabri Jiryis, the head of the Israeli section of the P.L.O. Research Center, recently put it like this:

> Begin's, and Israel's, problem is basically that the occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip include about 1 million Palestinians. The Israelis want the land, but not the people. Accordingly, Israel has refrained from annexing these territories . . . as a result of all these considerations, various Israeli plans are proposed from time to time to solve the problem of the occupied territories, the latest of which is Begin's offer to grant "autonomy" to these areas under Israeli military and economic domination and within the framework of what is termed a "functional solution." The aim of this "solution" is to preserve the gains derived from the occupation—military bases, settlements and economic domination—while passing the burdens of police and civil administration to the local inhabitants, or, in part to Jordan.

Jiryis dilates on the relative economic underdevelopment of the West Bank, the likelihood that qualified Palestinians would emigrate (as they have been doing since 1967) and concludes: "In sum, Menachem Begin's 'functional solution,' represented in the granting of 'autonomy' to the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, under Israel's military and economic domination, resembles the Bantustans of South Africa."

This is a fairly unequivocal repudiation from the sort of Palestinian spokesman whom the Israelis will have to impress. If you combine it with the widespread Israeli feeling that autonomy, even in its present form, is too much of a concession, you can get an idea of the tremendous obstacles that lie ahead. It has not been better put than by Prof. Yorah Dimstein, dean of law at Tel Aviv University, who recently said that Israel had only just realized that Sadat was not joking about Palestinian rights in return for the Sinai. As Professor Dimstein put it, Begin is saying to Sadat: "You said what you meant but we didn't believe you meant what you said, and now we see that

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you did mean what you said, so why did you lie to us?"

As for the West Bank itself, and its turbulent and politicized inhabitants, there are three samplings that I for one like to apply. They are not acid tests, and it is perhaps impertinent to put them forward so impressionistically, but they have never failed me so far. The first test is an obvious one—what do the mayors of the occupied territories say? The second is more strictly related to the political leadership of the future—what do the students at Bir Zeit University say? The third is for those who like to fly occasionally by a combination of instinct, morale and humor—what does Raymonda Tawil say?

In order then (and with some explanation). The mayors met recently and issued a very blunt statement against autonomy. This was in some ways to be expected, but the statement was unusually militant and apparently unanimous. Even men like Elias Freij, Mayor of Bethlehem and a private sympathizer with the "Hussein option," did not dissent publicly. Perhaps more significantly, there has been a similar riposte from Gaza, where the Egyptians have proposed a dry run autonomy election in an area where security is not so much of an issue. Here, too, the Mayor has stuck by the P.L.O. Rashad al-Shawa in fact went so far as to write to Sadat asking him not to sign an agreement. He also said "in other parts of the world, autonomy might lead to self-determination. But not here." All this, remember, at a time when a date for the elections, and even the idea of them, has still not been fully conceded by Begin.

Next, Bir Zeit. It is the main Arab educational institution in the West Bank, with just over 1,000 students who constitute the intellectual elite of the people from whom they come. At their last general meeting they voted overwhelmingly for the P.L.O. position, and they are ceaselessly active in denouncing all forms of occupation. For them, the Sadat move is a diversion, designed to save his reputation and Carter's at their expense. (In this connection, it ought to be said that Sadat's reception of the Shah has done him immense damage among the young and committed, no less in Egypt itself than in the West Bank.) Histrionic though student politics in this area may be, it is important to remember that many if not most of these articulate boys and girls were in their teens (or younger) when the occupation began. Their rejection of it is, therefore, at least as important as the resignation and fatalism of many of their elders to whom the occupation represents a relatively brief period in their lives.

Finally, Raymonda Tawil. She lives in Ramallah and takes no rubbish from anybody. She has been intimidated by the Jordanian authorities, by the sunshine soldiers and summer patriots of the Palestinian movement and by the occupation forces. When I first met her in 1976, she was under house arrest without charge or trial—an experience repeated more callously in the recent past. But her days of confinement led her to write a book—*My Home, My Prison*, published in Hebrew, in Jerusalem. In this work she details her fight, not just against the quotidian dinginess of life as a free spirit under foreign occupation but also in resistance to bullying charges of "immodesty" by Arab men and Arab political intolerance of her journalism. (The book was written with the assistance of Peretz Kidron, an Israeli radical, and Tawil was let in for a fresh round of abuse from neighbors on that score.) Of course, she counts herself a Palestinian, but nobody has ever succeeded in suborning or co-opting her, and I can recall her saying (to the horror of her husband) that there were circumstances in which she would prefer Israeli occupation to Syrian tutelage.

So. She is, of course, bitterly opposed to the Jordanian option—as much because of the contrast between Israeli modernism and Jordanian backwardness as anything else. She is, naturally, not a rejectionist or a person wedded to fierce dreams of the lost homeland. But she is for self-determination. Her view of autonomy is that it is "a sham, a lie, a gigantic hoax, an attempt to bury the Palestinian cause forever; to relieve the conscience of the world by creating the impression that the Palestinian issue has been solved while we remain under Israel's yoke."

If I were an Israeli administrator of any stripe or hue, that statement would impress me more than a ton of rhetoric from the official P.L.O. If Raymonda Tawil thought that the P.L.O. were promulgating twaddle about Camp David, she would say so. It is because of people like her that King Hussein has not joined Sadat (and his record of prudence is unequaled in the Middle East, however "artificial" his throne).

In his book, Abu Iyad talks openly of recognition of Israel in a way that involves more concessions than Sadat has ever made. But he is speaking of a serious deal about self-determination. It may seem boring to have repeated so often the difference between this and autonomy. But if the distinction is not learned, then Israel will be bargaining with only the Old Testament as a guide, and it will be proved once again that a bridge cannot be built from the middle of a river. □

JUDGESHIP PROJECT

The Nation is publishing a series of articles by Dorothy Samuels and James Goodman of the Committee for Public Justice monitoring the selection of 152 Federal judges under the Omnibus Judgeship Act of 1978. Their reports incorporate information from a network of regional correspondents in civil rights and civil liberties groups, and from social activists and journalists across the country. Readers of *The Nation* are invited to participate by sending local newspaper clippings or personal observations on Federal judgeship candidates to the Committee for Public Justice, 22 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Brothers And Sisters

JULIUS LESTER

BLACK MACHO AND THE MYTH OF THE SUPERWOMAN. *By Michele Wallace. Dial Press. 182 pp. $7.95.*

Occasionally a book appears that can be criticized in several ways, and yet the work is so important that criticism slides off it like rain down a window. *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* is like that, a powerful though flawed work which speaks to an essential and previously unrecognized need.

Michele Wallace writes about the radical black politics of the 1960s from a singular perspective—that of the black woman. She does not pretend to be objective but writes of history as it has lived in her. The book combines autobiography, history and sociology—and it is always passionate. The author dares to risk herself, which means that she cares deeply.

Because she dares to write as a black woman, Wallace sees the black political struggles of the 1960s as previous writers could not. She contends that in the transition from the civil rights movement of the early 1960s to Black Power and black consciousness in the late 1960s, "the struggle for human rights was more or less left behind." The aim of the black political movement became "the pursuit of black manhood" and the open denigration of black women was its corollary.

Black men began maintaining that they had been emasculated by the black woman and that the time had come for black women to be silent and assume their proper places—behind (or under) the black man. This rhetoric was, as Wallace observes, an acceptance of the thesis of the infamous Moynihan report, that the black race had "been forced into a matriarchal structure, which, because it is so out of line with the rest of American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole, and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male." While black men attacked the source, they also found confirmation for something they had always secretly believed: "The black woman had substantial advantages over the black man." Or, as Wallace phrases it elsewhere in the book: "[The black man] had never been able to make his woman get down on her knees." Hostility between black men and black women has now become overt, and for many black women it is expressed most openly by the increasing number of black male-white female relationships.

But unlike other black women writers, Wallace does not blame the rage of black women on these relationships, nor does she fall into any protracted diatribes against white women. Yet she makes clear the pain black women experience in the face of the black man-white woman union. For the most part, Wallace expresses her anger without violating the intimacy of personal relationships. She goes a little far, however, when she remarks that a black man can "marry a white woman, *if he's got the money*; and no one will try to stop him." (Her italics.) The fact is that everybody in America can marry as they like without being subjected to public speculation and pop psychologizing, except for black men who marry white women. I am a little weary of people thinking that they know better than I whom I should marry. Elsewhere, Wallace, in discussing LeRoi Jones, says that he left "his white wife and his two half-white children to marry a black woman." Defining the children as "half-white" is certainly arrogant, but mentioning the children at all is indefensible. (I expect to be attacked by black women for my marriage, but there is no excuse for using children as targets in the sexual war.)

Some of Wallace's most provocative writing lies in her critiques of a number of writers—Norman Mailer, James Baldwin ("an emphatically moralistic writer"), LeRoi Jones ("That he was taken so seriously seems to me a sad comment on the Black Movement"), Eldridge Cleaver (who "politicize[d] sexuality in the Black Movement"), Nikki Giovanni ("a kind of nationalistic Rod McKuen") and Richard Wright These critiques are fresh and always interesting. She says much that has needed saying for a long time.

In one instance, however, I feel that she fails, and that is in her discussion of Richard Wright. She misses an opportunity to support her own thinking by failing to discuss Wright's antagonism to black women and his inability to create any but the most negative black female characters. (Indeed, *The Outsider* is almost an argument for black male-white female relationships.) Wright's work is a rich illustration of black male self-hatred projected onto black women.

What Wallace does say about Wright is, however, very misleading, and her comments on *Native Son* reveal the primary weakness in her own book:

> Wright seemed much more concerned with making a lasting impression on whites than he was with self-revelation or self-exploration. The black man could only come to life in the act of punishing the white man, or, in other words, the black man could only come to life by losing his humanity.

I think she needs to reread *Native Son*, because no comparable work tells us so much about how racism affects the souls of black people. If a society confers a negative identity on a people and reinforces it politically, legally, sociologically, economically and psychologically, it is an act of total violence against the soul of that people. They can then attain identity and redemption only through a physicial violence as senseless, mindless and inhuman as the initiating violence—racism. This is paradoxical; I don't like it, and yet, it is terrifyingly real, as Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*) and Albert Memmi (*The Colonized and the Colonizer*) learned in North Africa in the 1950s.

Just as Wallace fails to see *Native Son* as a case study of how racism twists the human soul beyond recognition, she does not see how racism functions in the same way today. In a passage that summarizes much of her thesis, she writes:

> The black man . . . had come to believe that his universe was really as the whites had defined it. The most important thing was no longer the welfare of his family, his people, but white racism. White racism is the white man's problem, not the black man's. His task is rather . . . to ameliorate the manifestations of racism, his poverty, deprivation, and unhappiness; to remove by whatever means necessary the restraints that exist on his health, his productivity, his creativity, and the perpetuation of his culture, the way of life that will allow him to live, survive and flourish.
>
> But the contemporary black man no longer exists for his people or even for himself. . . . His black perspective, like the white perspective, supports the

Julius Lester's most recent book is his autobiography, All Is Well. *He teaches in the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.*

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notion that manhood is more valuable than anything else.

(One of the prices of eradicating "separate but equal," as the civil rights movement did, is to make blacks no longer outsiders but Americans. And for a lot of black men, that means becoming *macho*. This should not come as a surprise.)

Wallace is quite eloquent when she details the "task" of the black male. How lovely it sounds, and I wish it were as easy in the doing as in the writing. Elsewhere, she writes, "Liberation is nothing more than responsibility, responsibility for setting the tone of one's own life and standing by it." That is well said, and I agree with her, but it is easier to stand in a blizzard in one's underwear and count snowflakes than it is to take responsibility for one's life. Wallace assumes that a person is psychologically capable of taking such responsibility, and by putting in the words "nothing more than," she makes it sound oh so simple. She assumes that a person is psychologically capable of "setting the tone of one's own life and standing by it." (Does marrying a white woman qualify as "setting the tone of one's own life" and thereby as liberation?)

I no longer assume that people are psychologically capable of being responsible, for I have begun to think that racism has so shredded the souls of vast numbers of blacks, men and women, that the "responsibility" Wallace writes of is beyond the psychic capabilities of many of us. I do not intend to condone irresponsibility, or seek to justify what black men do to black women, but neither do I assume that being responsible for our lives is inherent, easy, or even within the realm of possibility for every black person. "Setting the tone" for one's life is extraordinarily difficult to imagine, not to mention live and maintain. It is more elusive than that Freedom Now we wanted in the 1960s, and wholly beyond the grasp of many of us who are afraid that if we ever know how constantly and deeply we hurt, we will die—or kill someone.

I say this not in criticism of the book but to invite Michele Wallace into the terrors of the black psyche, because I sense in her book a fine intelligence, sensitivity and honesty. I like the book and agree with its thrust and energy when she calls for a black feminism that is not "imitative of what white feminists have done before." That her book speaks to a very painful necessity is shown among other things by the fact that suicides among black women have increased by 80 percent since 1960, while those of black males by 33 percent. Although Wallace does not discuss this alarming fact, she speaks to it when she says that the black woman "belongs to the only group in this country which has not asserted its identity."

Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman is an assertion of that identity. I am only sorry that the book is so short, for it rings as true as Aretha Franklin singing "Amazing Grace." I have no doubt that this work is the announcement that the 1980s will be the decade of the black woman. □

GIFT

I will see you always
As I pulled open the door—
A Boston fern proffered in your hands.
Why can't I feel? I lapsed
Back to the top of the stairway
To a bare room filled with light,
A doll propped up on the piano.

Love is earned; therefore,
Impossible, my mother says, holding me
At arm's length as I turn on a chair.
She keeps the straight pins in her mouth
Peering at the hem of my dress
On her knees in the slope-roofed house.

Or else she waits in her housecoat
As fog surrounds the lake, billows
Like the vapor from dry ice until
The figure behind bay windows
Is featureless, a block of light solved
With difficulty, from the other shore.

"You're still battling to be born."
I look through the phone booth's glass,
Your voice suddenly
Remote, farther than the cities between us.
And I'm waiting on the porch
For my mother to come
Home from death, her drawn body

Defenseless, utterly her own.

Maureen Bloomfield

Revolution In the Revolution

SALLY BELFRAGE

PERSONAL POLITICS. *By Sara Evans. Alfred A. Knopf. 256 pp. $8.95.*

The New Left works on the assumption that history began on February 1, 1960—perhaps understandable, considering the speed of social change since. In this record of the derivations of the women's movement, Sara Evans—who defines herself as "Southern, white, activist, feminist"—traces links to earlier struggles but concentrates on this most remarkable period in the lives of women. Her thesis, that modern feminism was rooted in the civil rights and New Left struggles preceding it, is less interesting than her reconstruction of a fascinating process. As women's consciousness of their situation developed among different minorities, so did the dominant mode of protest, and to see from a feminist perspective how one led to the next is not just valuable history but an exciting read. The thesis works, and like a well-constructed whodunit, much of the interest comes from the logical progression of the evidence. The fact that Evans writes with a certain meticulous pedantry—supplying quotes, for example, down to their original (quite possibly inadvertent) spelling errors—gives one all the more confidence in her data. Her commitment to her work is what fills it with life.

Considering today's supersensitivity

Sally Belfrage is the author of Freedom Summer *(Viking).*

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to sexism, it is astonishing to realize how blind women were to their own situation just over a decade ago. As Evans shows, awareness of "male supremacy" (as it was then called) was largely limited to the old left; others merely lived it. When the living was in the context of a Mississippi freedom house, the contradiction should have been apparent. There wasn't time or room or energy for myths, the sort of fantasy arrangements which made more traditional relationships endurable: I'll mop the floor if you'll play I'm princess later. In the movement, all you got was the mop. (In my case, in Greenwood, Miss., contradictions were entirely blurred by the fact that only James Forman voluntarily consented to address the filthy floors at all.) Nothing could so spotlight the female dilemma as fighting side by side for the right to equality and humanity with people who refused to recognize one's own.

In the early S.N.C.C. days in the South, however, only Casey Hayden seemed to realize—in a paper presented to the November 1964 S.N.C.C. staff retreat—that the "assumption of male superiority (was) as widespread and deep rooted and every bit as crippling to the woman as the assumptions of white supremacy are to the Negro." But so outlandish was this notion that the paper had to be presented anonymously (and was for years attributed to Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, because she was black) for fear of the reaction: "nothing so final as . . . outright exclusion, but the kind of things which are killing to the insides—insinuations, ridicule, over-exaggerated compensations."

A year later, with Mary King (another white Southerner), Hayden signed "a kind of memo" on sex and caste outlining the "parallels that can be drawn between treatment of Negroes and treatment of women in our society"—yet even then, at a time just eighteen months short of the explosion throughout Western society of the women's revolution, they had to concede that "objectively, the chances seem nil that we could start a movement based on anything as distant to general American thought as a sex-caste system."

During this time, the student movement in the North was moving into community organization; the Economic Research and Action Projects were invading the ghettos of Newark, Chicago, Cleveland. The men in S.D.S. were as impressive to the world as they were oppressive to their women. While the women finally did much of the effective work in the communities, they were increasingly invisible as figures of any public importance. As James Weinstein saw them in 1965, ". . . women made peanut butter, waited on tables, cleaned up, got laid. That was their role."

The anti-war movement went further and dropped women from the language—draft resistance was obviously a man's job. As mere "auxiliaries to the central issue of the movement," women who were veterans of so much arduous organizing, analysis, danger and simple hard work, had to look to themselves. The terrible energy they had devoted to the struggles of others was finally turned to their own struggle, and their anger was great enough to be shouted: "Our oppression is as real, as legitimate, as necessary to fight against as that of the blacks, Chicanos, or the Vietnamese" insisted the women's liberation workshop of the 1967 S.D.S. convention. They were confused and conciliatory—the statement ended "Freedom now! We love you!"—but the women would not allow the men to debate their analysis, and the meeting degenerated into male "hoots and cat calls." That did it. At the National Conference for New Politics in August 1967, Jo Freeman and Shulamith Firestone drew up a resolution demanding their rights. (For this, Firestone earned a pat on the head and a "Move on, little girl; we have more important issues to talk about here than women's liberation.") Some Chicago women met the following week to draw up a manifesto. In a matter of months, there were thousands enlisted in women's liberation groups.

As Evans points out, "there would likely have been a strong feminist lobby" without these events, if only to fight the case of the professional woman. NOW (National Organization for Women) is perhaps given less credit than it deserves for its major role in affecting the general consciousness, and the pill and home technology none at all. But Evans makes a strong case for the contribution of the New Left movements in creating strong, independent women with political awareness, self-esteem (not to mention calluses and muscles) and an egalitarian ideology which their own lives were forced to contradict, and without which "there would have been no mass insurgency."

Seeing yesterday as history so soon—catalogued and diagnosed, explained and given provenance—can be deadening. It isn't often, seen from the heights this bird is flying, that the landscape will reveal more than its main hills and rivers, but with some neat acrobatics, Evans frequently swoops low for a look at the smaller features: the people themselves. *Personal Politics* is a feminist's history of our feminism. □

Protest and Incremental Changes

JOHN S. ROSENBERG

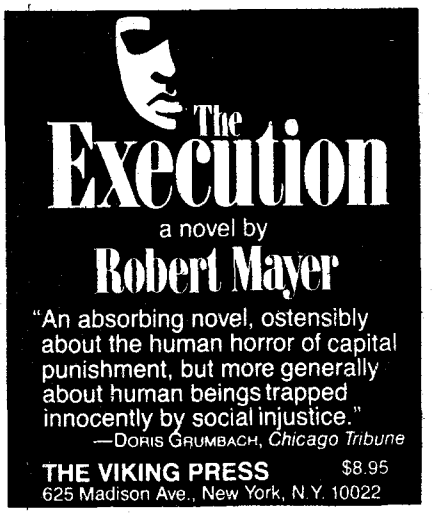
PROTEST AT SELMA: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. *By David J. Garrow. Yale University Press. 346 pp. $15.*

A NEW DEAL FOR BLACKS. The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade. *By Harrard Sitkoff. Oxford University Press. 397 pp. $14.95.*

Critics of academic social science often argue that it frequently amounts to little more than statements of the obvious written in opaque prose with footnotes. That judgment would be intemperate and unfair if applied to David J. Garrow's *Protest at Selma*, but the book occasionally calls such criticisms to mind.

Garrow, a political scientist, writes about Selma as a case study in the politics and publicity of protest. Using a "quadripartite model" composed of protesters, their opponents, "neutral third parties" (the "potential audience" of the protest) and the news media, Garrow is concerned to show the process by which

John Rosenberg is at work on a biography of Clifford Durr, who served as a commissioner on the Federal Communications Commission from 1941 to 1948.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the protests in Selma resulted in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. His argument, basically, is that a skillful use of television did it.

Anyone hoping to discover or recapture the spirit of "the movement" or to meet its leaders, followers or antagonists as real people caught up in a dramatic and history-making conflict will be disappointed. What appears instead is a detailed survey of media coverage and the political strategy that led to it, along with an analysis of public and political reactions to the demonstrations in Selma. Garrow claims that his book is not about how a bill becomes law, not "a simple legislative history," but that claim is only partially true. It is not legislative history but it is nevertheless very definitely about how a law was passed.

The assassination and subsequent sanctification of Martin Luther King have tended to obscure the debates surrounding his strategy of nonviolence. Even so, neither the veterans nor many of the observers of the civil rights movement are likely to be surprised by Garrow's central argument—that after the dismal failure in Albany, Ga., in 1961 and 1962, King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference abandoned a principled commitment to nonviolent persuasion for a political policy of nonviolent provocation—what Garrow calls "coercive nonviolence."

Birmingham was the turning point. Bull Connor's dogs and hoses—or rather, the national revulsion to them—showed that unprovoked violence was to the movement's advantage, the key to its success. King, so the argument goes, came to believe "that nothing could be more effective in activating support among the national audience for the movement and its goal of equal suffrage than scenes of peaceful demonstrators . . . being violently attacked by Southern whites." Thus Garrow argues that Selma, selected as a target because Sheriff Jim Clark could be relied upon to respond with violence, was a carefully staged media event.

Of course it was—and most of the participants knew it—but there is at once both less to this argument than meets the eye and more than Garrow confronts. The difficulty is not with the facts but with their interpretation and evaluation, which in this case are confused and even contradictory. On one level, Garrow explicitly, even lavishly, praises King. He acknowledges, for example, that King's shift "from nonviolent persuasion to a more aggressive nonviolent coercion was based upon a very shrewd and wholly accurate understanding of the dynamics of protest. . . ." Noting that "some might choose to criticize the S.C.L.C.'s true strategy as provocative and markedly at odds with its own public image," Garrow himself applauds the decision to elicit violence from opponents as "a wise and pragmatic course which served to advance a truly noble cause."

On another level, however, the praise is hollow, for the implicit argument of the book is critical, its tone debunking. In short, the words and music clash, but rather than resulting in a complex theme built on point and counterpoint all that emerges is a lack of harmony. King is praised for being a crafty and pragmatic political strategist even as he is criticized for not being as honest as a prophet. Thus, argues Garrow, the fact that "a strategy of nonviolent provocation governed their actions was something that the S.C.L.C. leadership could not admit then and cannot even now," for such an admission would have lessened the legitimacy of a movement that had been built "upon an image of being the undeserving victims of racial hatred, victims who responded not in kind but simply by turning the other cheek."

As with so many books that focus on the media, *Protest at Selma* founders on the increasingly elusive distinction between image and reality. Was it merely "an image" that the civil rights movement was the undeserving victim of racial hatred? If not, do the undeserving victims somehow become deserving by choosing to go to Selma to have that hatred broadcast? Finally, in presenting an image—and hence in requiring political leaders to plan the presentation of an image—does television inevitably transform reality or rob it of meaning? Garrow does not confront these difficult and troubling questions, but his book does provide the evidence that provokes them and so is useful even though it does not go beyond telling us how a law came to be passed.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was in many respects the legal culmination of the civil rights movement. Harvard Sitkoff's *A New Deal for Blacks* discusses its beginning.

Historians are generally fond of the French proverb that the more things change, the more they remain the same, but Sitkoff argues just the opposite about race relations in the 1930s: his view is that although things changed all too little, they were never to be the same again. "All revolutions, like the mightiest rivers, begin with a trickle," he writes. "For civil rights, the depression decade proved to be a time of planting, not harvesting."

Sitkoff's volume is a good example of the postrevisionist change of mood that has characterized much of the history written in the chastened 1970s. A sometime veteran of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, Sitkoff began this project (two more volumes are promised), he says, sharing "the bitter disillusionment of those who continued to risk their lives in the post-Watts struggle. . . . My initial essays minimized the accomplishments of those who had labored to reduce the pervasive racism in our society. They emphasized the blanket hostility, even depravity, of white America. I considered myself part of a phalanx of young historians

THE EXPERIMENT

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hairy swine, dwarf horses, wolfish dogs;
planted ancient seed, made wine, and

slept with animals for warmth, accepted
vermin, smoke, toothaches. Their pottery
grew pointed at the base.

There were more deaths, fewer births,
less time; their speech grew terse,
their drawings crude, their feelings elemental.

When the gods came back,
congealing out of the bog one misty night,
there was no one left

who didn't believe in them.

Jane Flanders

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determined to expose the vicious continuity of racism in American life and thought."

But the tides of both history and historiography erode old enthusiasms and carry others to the fore. "Immersion in research and the retrogression in race relations in the Nixon years changed my focus," Sitkoff explains, and this volume reflects a new-found appreciation of incremental change. Like several other students drawn to and influenced by Prof. William Leuchtenburg at Columbia University, Sitkoff apparently emerged from his immersion in research a born-again liberal.

Unlike an earlier generation of liberals, however, Sitkoff does not argue that Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal ushered in the millennium, or would have but for the heathen Republicans. Indeed, he demonstrates quite conclusively that "the New Deal initiated few of the changes" that he describes. "The Roosevelt Administration," he admits, "perpetuated more of the discrimination and segregation inherited from previous decades than it ended." But, he continues—and this is the style of argument throughout: for every acknowledged limitation, there is a "but" or a "still" or a "yet"—". . . but it [Roosevelt's Administration] played its part by substantively and symbolically assisting blacks to an unprecedented extent. . . ."

This argument is repeated in chapters on the Negro vote ("Most of the barriers to Negro progress remained intact . . . but the days of solicitude for the white South by Northern politicians grew short"); on labor ("Plenty of discrimination . . . persisted . . . still, a decisive change in the fortunes of the movement for racial equality occurred in the thirties"); on the law (Supreme Court decisions brought no fundamental change and "did little to end the daily humiliations and oppression encountered by most Afro-Americans. . . . Still, its actions had important effects"); on the civil rights organizations (Not successful. "Still, the movement acquired in the thirties a strength and hopefulness it never had before"), and so on with religion, ideas, liberal reformers, the left, etc.

Finally the optimism and the agricultural metaphor become so overpowering that one can almost hear ". . . the amber waves of grain" being hummed at the conclusion: "The soil had been tilled. The seeds that would later bear fruit had been planted. They would continue to be nurtured by the legal and political developments, the ideas articulated, the alliances formed, and the expectations raised during the New Deal years. The sprouts of hope prepared the ground for the struggles to follow. Harvest time would come in the next generation."

And yet (note how this "criticism, but" style is contagious), in the final analysis *A New Deal for Blacks* is an impressive book that is much richer and more compelling than a summary of its interpretations may suggest. Like his mentor, William Leuchtenburg's *Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal*, Sitkoff's study is so sweeping in its scope, so thorough in its research, and so balanced in its presentation that even die-hard revisionists and unconverted relics of the 1960s may find themselves acknowledging the weight of his evidence, the strength of his argument. And if not, there is enough evidence here to support opposing conclusions. That is good history in anybody's book. □

Families and Schools

BENITA EISLER

ACTING OUT: Coping With Big City Schools. *By Roland Betts. Introduction by John Holt. Little, Brown & Company, 264 pp. $8.95.*

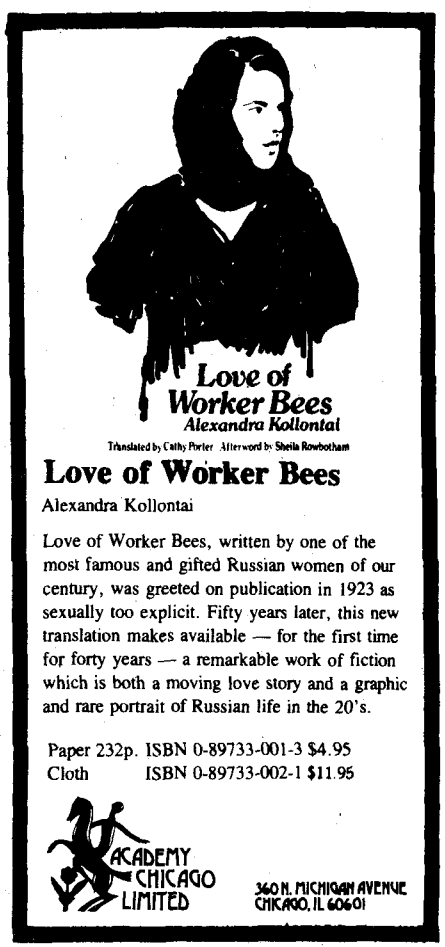
"Parents," writes Roland Betts, in *Acting Out*, "want their child removed from one shop class to another, from morning gym to afternoon gym, out of one poorly reputed teacher's class and into another's fabled arms. . . .

> They want school open when it snows twelve inches and they want it closed on Black Solidarity Day and Sal Mineo's Birthday. They want all-black classes, all-white classes and a perfectly integrated school.

But parents are only some of the bad actors in Betts's Theater of the Absurd, otherwise known as the New York City public school system. He is pitiless on principals, most teachers, chief custodians, school secretaries and guidance counselors. Betts has fond feelings for those he perceives to be victims: kids (except those he "could strangle"), assistant principals (the no-win job of all time), underling custodians, substitute teachers—and textbook salesmen!

Acting Out is a scatty, wraparound multimedia slide show, where the images are on screen no more than fifteen seconds—or as long as required to read the story. Betts's quick takes deliver all the sounds (there is an entire chapter on the many nuances of the expletive "O-o-o-o-o-*Sit*!"), sights, and especially the smells—of representative buildings. A product of Yale College and Antioch Graduate School of Education, Betts was one of those exotic transients who landed in the New York City schools in the late turbulent 1960s. For some of these recent graduates, teaching ghetto kids was a draft-board-approved alternative to killing Vietnamese ones: at the same time, others were encouraged by the possibility of becoming "change agents" in the schools and their surrounding community. Roland Betts, who stayed for ten years—probably twice as long as the majority of his "cohort"—hung in long enough to become a pro, a trainer of teachers and administrators in an enterprise called Teachers Inc. In the process, he was disabused of any romanticism about parents, the "community," idealistic young teachers or, indeed, about the possibility of changing anything.

Benita Eisler is the editor of The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women 1840-45, *and is now at work on a book about self-education in America,* Bettering Ourselves, *to be published by Harper & Row.*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Essentially a black humorist who has found the perfect subject, Betts is not really concerned with explaining, or prescribing remedies for, any of the bizarre goings-on he observes. In a description of in-school sex as a form of group recreation, Betts is satisfied to ascribe this activity to precocious sexual development (whether of minority kids or of New York City adolescents he does not speculate), but this still does not explain why school has become the setting of choice. Although we are invited to laugh at the hapless principal who bumbles into the thick of the cheering spectators, we are given no clue as to what Betts-the-teacher, or administrator, would have done (or did) under the same circumstances. Similarly, the satirist's broad brush tars some deviants for whom the school system simply cannot be blamed.

Besides his rapid loss of faith in any possibility of reform, Betts does not seem to believe much in the worth of the teaching-learning enterprise. As a teacher trainer, he appears to specialize in strategies to "simulate" classroom control. The only personal triumph he recalls while teaching derived from coaching a championship baseball team. He is outraged that in New York City schools, physically active teenagers get one period of gym a week; but he does not tell us how many periods of art, music or science are offered. In short, Betts seems to have accepted the fact that even with "committed" teachers like himself, kids are too distracted by puberty or family problems to learn. Yet he wonders why the tremendous energy and competence his students put into arranging parties or practicing foul shots cannot be channeled into other kinds of achievement. Perhaps because neither Betts nor his colleagues—"innovative" or "old line"—can make a very powerful case for the "other" goals. Certainly, despite his obvious affection, sympathy and other "good feelings" for the kids he teaches, Betts does not seem to hold any higher expectations for them than those "low" ones ascribed to racist, time-serving teachers and administrators.

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The thesis of the book (insofar as it may be said to have one) is that the "system" so thwarts any individual attempt to do good work that the principal efforts are reduced to staying sane; hence "acting out" is the safety valve indulged in by all concerned to keep from flipping out—definitively.

By the end of the book, it becomes clear that ten years have attenuated Betts's goals dramatically. City schools, at best, might become places where teachers and kids don't torment one another unendurably, where "acting out" is minimal. Thus, after all the funny stories, the engaging laid-back style, the wicked sightings of characters—strange and familiar, inescapably the sad conclusion creeps up on us: *Acting Out* is copping out. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

Jerome Robbins's new work for the New York City Ballet, *The Four Seasons*, is a simple ballet and one's basic reaction to it is simple also. You smile, and when it is over, in about thirty minutes, you want to gossip about it with your neighbor. The pleasure it gives comes from many parts—from Verdi, from Santo Loquasto's handsome set and costumes confident in their prettiness, from Jennifer Tipton's malleable lighting, and from the libretto itself. And then, it is obvious that Robbins's intention is to give us a good time. That intention is *The Four Seasons*' hallmark, I think, and something new for Robbins. Thus what would otherwise be one more delightful work in another choreographer's gallery has an additional importance.

Robbins's choreography here is expansive yet clean and lucid. In the Winter and Spring sections he uses the elements of classical language with a vigor and consistency he has not shown before. Not accidentally, they are the best sections. All of the choreography, however, opens itself for inspection. It wants us to see not so much Robbins's inventiveness as the various splendors of his dancers. Never has Robbins made such an unabashed showcase for them—for Heather Watts's tensile energy, for Stephanie Saland's hot elegance (yes, she plays Summer's mistress), for the way Daniel Duell's short, chunky body can attenuate and soften into *danseur noble* image, for the way Jean-Pierre Frolich's body cannot. Robbins celebrates the latter's eternal adolescence instead; he plays Autumn's faun. The tricks they and the rest of the cast do are of the best kind—blatantly set up and wholeheartedly pulled off. The effect is joyous but is not what one would call artistic. Robbins seems to have dispensed with notions of artistic raison d'etre and has gained freedom. Instead of manufacturing a concept to support choreography—in many instances to justify choreography—he lets Verdi do it for him.

Verdi filled out his operas with dance *divertissement* and most of the Verdi that Robbins uses was composed as an appendage to *I Vespri Siciliani*; its pretext, a libretto calling for a dance of the four seasons at the command of the god Janus. Robbins follows this outline and follows the music. He yields to Verdi almost completely. The one instance where he gets inventive—Duell and Kyra Nichols walking through, and trampling over, Verdi's rippling score—is the only instance in which the ballet seems contrived. The moment forces one to take note of a concept and hence to back away from the action. Almost every other moment of *The Four Seasons* rings easily, and so truly, to Verdi. With no argument to arrange and then accommodate to the exigencies of dancing and dancers, the whole miserable question, why ballet?, is avoided. Robbins lets it roll. Shrewdly, the seasons roll by from one seasonal highlight to the next, from January's thaw to May's breezes to August's languor to October's grape harvest. Middling months like February and November don't exist in this almanac.

Janus, flanked by four allegorical figures, bows to us and requests his attendants to bring on *their* attendants. Winter beckons first, and on rush a bevy of chattering snowflakes, attacked by two gusts of wind, Joseph Duell and Peter Frame. (The contrast between the opening section's formality and the giggliness of this variation is bracing too; and considering the music, natural.) The girls plead with the puffing boys to quit it—cygnets pleading with hunters not to shoot—and huddle on the ground to keep warm. They get snippy when Heather Watts, a latecomer, tries to nestle among them, so she conquers the winds with a flick of her wand-hand

Coming Soon

Nora Sayre discusses some films of the late 1940s and early 1950s in a two-part essay entitled "Cold-War Cinema."

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Sen. William Proxmire, Gail Sheehy,
I.F. Stone, Tom Wicker **read it.**

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Harold Clurman, E.L. Doctorow,
Jules Feiffer, Frances FitzGerald,
John Kenneth Galbraith, Ralph Nader,
Marcel Ophuls, Octavio Paz,
Nora Sayre, Studs Terkel,
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and exults in a peppy series of *echappes*. The other girls join her, and although the choreography is primary school in its use of flat, primary colors, the effect is almost as round as the coda from Petipa's classic, *La Bayadere*. For the same reason. The filling out of the dancers' ranks coincides with a textural swelling in the orchestra pit. The result is magic. Always is. Now Watts joins the windy fellows for a trio. They jump high and they travel far. It is a pleasure. Always is. For the coda, the ensemble gallops across the stage in crisscrossing, overlapping sequences. Echoes of Balanchine's Verdi opus, *Ballo della Regina*, are loud and clear.

Winter is the most heavily plotted of the seasons, as Verdi's score demands. Spring is the most densely choreographed and in many ways the most transparent as well. The smooth resolution of this possible contradiction renders it the most interesting section of the ballet. Its core is a waltz for Nichols and Duell. Its particular energy, at once spacious and scintillating, springs from the dancers' remarkable ability to elongate and sustain fragmented phrases and hasty changes of direction, to make us see the connective tissues between a waltz in place and a waltz covering the perimeters of the stage. Nichols's long solo is something more—an essay in deepening dynamics. Like Merrill Ashley, she has the gift of absolute clarity. The more detail she must convey, the clearer she becomes. Unlike Ashley, she can relax into largess.

The momentum of the Spring section is not as obviously accelerando as that of the other seasons. It cools sometimes, and there is an intermission of sorts for the charming number, when four pea pods commend us to one another's bounce. The return to and enlargement of Spring's basic waltz impulse (and the whole ballet's entrance-exit-entrance excitement) happen so smoothly that you might not notice the rise in temperature at all were it not for the pronounced in lull of Summer. Summer's torpor, which Robbins clothes in Oriental accessory, gives off the least heat and least persuasive dance images. But it is attractive enough, and Bart Cook and Stephanie Saland are attractively statuesque. Verdi might account for much of the trouble: he's least appealing when he's moody.

In the ballet's most endearing example of musical mimicry, Verdi literally infiltrates Frolich's faunish limbs, and he inspires revelers to revel. Up to this point, Robbins has been letting the traditional conceit of a seasonal masque carry him. Now he does the tradition one better. Turning to an intra-ballet convention, he stages a Bolshoi Ballet bacchanal. Anybody with a sense of style can be Roman; only the Bolshoi can be Bolshoi. This is why the Autumn section is mocking, whereas all the others have been ironic. Robbins gets away with it under the auspices of the dancers—the good humor of the ensemble, the brilliance of Frolich, the sheer energy of Patricia McBride and, above all, the good graces of Mikhail Baryshnikov, who, in his first hand-tailored role since joining the City Ballet, plays a satyr.

Baryshnikov might have been dismayed to find himself finally arriving at the American Kirov merely to recreate the somewhat hackneyed glory of the Bolshoi. Nevertheless, the wicked/heroic postures he cuts are so dead-right and wholeheartedly enjoyed that one aspect at least of his subversive role comes out innocent. His performance transcends commentary on style; it is that style. What he cannot possibly transcend is Robbins's commentary on Baryshnikov as Baryshnikov. Each of his fantastic leaps and turns ends with self-deprecating humor. Why the choreographer's embarrassment—not only Robbins's but Tharp's and Ailey's—over an abundance of riches? Meanwhile, as we wait for the next choreographer to release Baryshnikov's talent instead of pinning him to his modesty, McBride is cavorting majestically in rose-bedecked wig as though nothing nasty were happening to her partner. What some might call obliviousness I would call the essence of professionalism. We have seen McBride's on several occasions this season. She is a marvelous dancer, and she is something more.

Contest For New Poets

"Discovery—THE NATION, '79" has been opened jointly by The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA in New York City and THE NATION. The competition, now in its fifth year, represents a fusion of The Poetry Center's "Discovery" contest and THE NATION's poetry prize. It is designed to attract larger audiences for young poets through the combined media of publication and poetry recital.

WINNERS of the 1978 contest were Tom Absher, Jane Miller, Mark Rubin and Sherod Santos. They gave a group reading at The Poetry Center on May 8, and had their poems published in THE NATION on May 13, 1978.

Contest Information

OPEN to poets whose work has NOT yet been published in book form. Book form includes chapbooks and self-published books.

REQUIREMENTS: Ten poems (not more than 500 lines) of original poetry in English are to be submitted.

THE AWARDS: Each of the four winners will receive an honorarium of $50 and will be invited to read at The Poetry Center on Monday, May 21, 1979. Each winner will have one poem, which has never been published, printed in THE NATION magazine.

MANUSCRIPT DETAILS: Submit four complete sets of the ten poems, each set securely fastened. Your name, biographical information and information indicating whether a particular poem has been published should NOT appear on the poems. Instead, a SEPARATE cover page should include your name, address and phone number. *Manuscripts will not be returned, so please retain a copy of your submission.* THE NATION reserves the right to publish at its regular rates any previously unpublished poems submitted by the four winners.

JUDGING will take place in April; winners will be chosen by judges whose names will be announced after the contest is over.

DEADLINE for receipt of poems: February 27, 1979.

SEND ALL ENTRIES TO: The Poetry Center, 92nd Street YM-YWHA, 1395 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10028. Direct inquiries to Mary Lisa Burns, Assistant to the Director, The Poetry Center.

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She always gives performances of complete conviction.

The same cannot be said of the company's consummate artists, Suzanne Farrell and Peter Martins. For reasons I do not understand, Robbins made them alternate leads for Autumn with alternate choreography, and Farrell and Martins consented to this arrangement. Actually, it's a nonarrangement. Farrell's solo looks like an improvised jumble of the things she likes to do best in *Tzigane*, *Chaconne* and who knows what else. If Martins's tunic were white instead of red he could be rehearsing for *Apollo*. Robbins didn't really bother to choreograph them into the scheme. Farrell (without the wig) sort of pretended that he had; Martins didn't bother to pretend anything.

As a measure of *The Four Seasons*' good cheer, the audience was as enthusiastic on the Farrell-Martins night as on the McBride-Baryshnikov night. As a measure of the audience's good sense, they gave Nichols, an ensemble dancer, the biggest hand on both nights. The new ballet will survive, I think (it already has had to). The prospect of new and newly forming artists is before us. And the audience knows what's what. The New York City Ballet is in great shape. □

THEATER

HAROLD CLURMAN

Two intelligent people who accompanied me to see Arthur Kopit's *Wings*, first at the Public Theater and now at the Lyceum, found it boring. I on the other hand was fascinated.

The reason for this discrepancy of reaction—apart from the fact that such contradictions are always to be expected—is that the play is in a sense a monodrama, and it is always a "tricky" matter to maintain interest in a play almost wholly centered on a single individual. But the more crucial hazard in the project is that it undertakes a visualization of a cerebral stroke, its symptoms, its treatment and the possibilities of its healing.

In the production directed by John Madden (originally under the auspices of the Yale Repertory Theater) the problem of staging such material is handled with considerable ingenuity. Still, the workings of the mind, particularly the disturbed mind, are next to impossible to convey through the all too concrete medium of the theater. It might be more successfully done in a novel, a poem, or perhaps even in a film.

If *Wings* is viewed simply as a sort of medical documentary, it may be considered informative but it cannot be genuinely evocative or moving in an artistic sense. Screen doors which asymetrically open and close and through which we glimpse doctors and other attendants, serve both as a means to see into the halls of the hospital and at the same time as emblems of the dark corridors and caves of the patient's struggling consciousness. Booming, crashing, crackling sounds further indicate the mind's pain and turmoil. All this is theatrically inventive and to a degree arresting, but all too material, too specific, too recognizable as stage effects. The mind's "interior," in all its complexity, can hardly be communicated in this way.

But Kopit's play is more than a description of a diseased condition. It is a metaphor, indeed a multi-metaphor. The patient and central figure is a middle-aged woman of some cultivation and sensibility who had been in her youth an amateur aviatrix. While we watch her tormented effort to emerge from her breakdown, we are made aware of the puzzle and miracle of the human soul which science can detail but not explain. That is what *Wings* accomplishes and what gives it its special value.

The woman—Emily Stilson—at first forgets her name, cannot grasp the meaning of the simplest words, and when she does, suffers hardship in pronouncing them. Thus, language itself is perceived here as a wonder, a divine gift which in our heedlessness we take for granted. It is part of the noumenal paradox of life itself.

We also hear that Mrs. Stilson, one stormy night, apparently lost because of a defect in her plane, stepped out with unaccountable bravery and stood upright on its wings. She did it for no "reason"—and survived. Her recognition of the madness of the action brought on a kind of euphoria—"wings!" It inspired a surge of spiritual elation. What Kopit implies or suggests is that living itself is something willy-nilly for which we must give thanks. It is a nonrational affirmation of the joy in existence. There is little that is "mystic" in this: whether we realize it or not, it constitutes the very essence of our common experience.

Constance Cummings's performance as Mrs. Stilson is a triumph of clarity, grace and dignity. In the small part of an "executive" nurse, Mary-Joan Negro is most winning in her concentration on every nuance of her patient's agony, in her solicitude and heartfelt pleasure at her progress. The rest of the cast too is just fine. □

INDIGENOUS MUSIC

NAT HENTOFF

If Ben Webster, whose sound on tenor sax was as huge as himself, particularly liked a visitor, he might give him a copy of a certain rehearsal tape. Roy Eldridge, Clark Terry, Jimmy Rowles and Benny Carter were among those who returned from Ben's refuge in Copenhagen with this rare documentary of the very process by which jazz is created. There are few such permanent records of jazz players explaining—to themselves and their colleagues—what they're after. Unfortunately, producers and engineers stop the tape when the talk begins and so we have lost, for example, the thousands of hours of Duke Ellington rehearsal sessions which would have illuminated the workings of that astonishingly resourceful mind more than all the exegeses of the mysteries of Ellington.

Ben Webster's tape started as a secret—to himself. One afternoon in October 1970, he was rehearsing with the twenty-piece Denmark Radio Big Band, conducted by arranger-pianist Niels Jorgen Steen. They were good musicians, but such roots as they had in jazz came from ardent listening rather than from growing up black and inside the music. So Ben started to tell them—with his customary good-humored bawdiness—how his piece was supposed to *be*.

The producer for Danish radio had the historical sense to tell the engineer to tape it all covertly. All of that afternoon—including several of Ben's warmest and most powerful tenor solos of his last years—is now available on the English label, Spotlite (*Ben Webster/No Fool, No Fun*). A sizable share of the royalties go to the Ben Webster Foundation—a jazz support group—in Denmark. (The tapes, by the way, were played, unexpurgated, on Danish radio, and were so popular that the broadcast has been repeated three times.)

During the rehearsal stretches, Ben tries to enlighten and enliven the sidemen any way he can—singing passages with a voice that's an extension of his horn, scatting, talking, playing the horn, exhorting, cajoling. "Scream!" he

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roars at one point. "Scream those notes. Hit them mothers. Hit them notes. Like Joe Louis. Bam! Bam!"

At another point, the players, eager to please, rush the tempo. "Take your time," Ben's gruff voice cuts off the music. "It took you time to learn how to play your horn. You didn't learn what you can do in no motherin' minute." One can almost hear the band collectively breathe in relief, and on the next take, they settle into a more mellow groove.

Aware of the impact of his authority, Ben takes care that these young musicians do not revere the notes of his piece too much. "If I may say one thing," he interrupts gently, "I'm not particular because I don't think music, if it's going to be jazz, is supposed to be *particular*." (Don't worry about mistakes, so long as you get inside the music.)

Suddenly, Webster shouts, "Don't play *all* them notes. That's a jive passage." (You have to know the difference between the essentials and the written options.)

As Ben talks and sings, the effect is like being at a seminar on jazz phrasing, time, timbre and spirit. Meanwhile, playing with his verbal horn, Ben keeps stretching it to get through: "The sound here should be like when a bee stings you and he dies, but he leaves the sting in you."

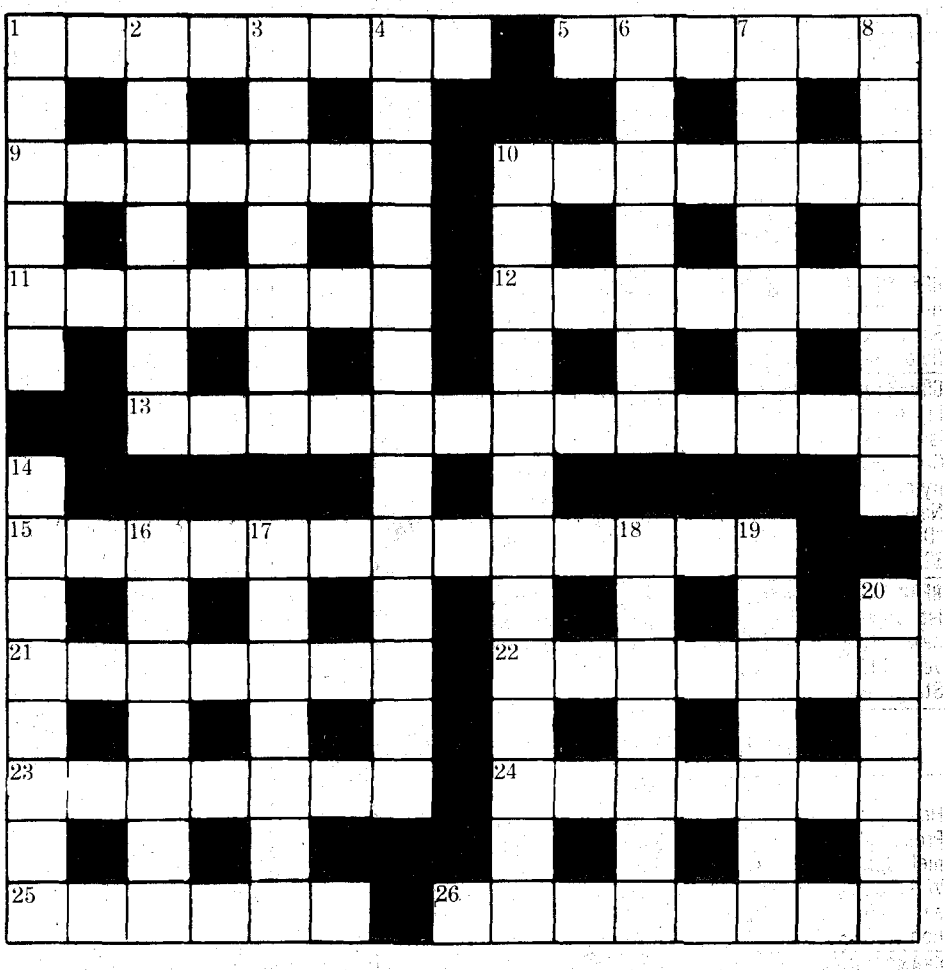
No Fool, No Fun now has some American distributors and should be available in, as they say, quality stores rather than music supermarkets. The surest way to get a copy, however, is by writing Bent Kauling, Music Mecca, Kobmagergade 25, DK-1150, Copenhagen, K., Denmark. The Webster Foundation suggests payment in the form of an international bank check, American Express traveler's check, or international postal order of $10—which will cover cost of the record and airmail charges.

Ben, who became best known for his years with Duke Ellington, was an exceptionally generous man, particularly in the time he took with young musicians. He could also, when drinking, be so fierce that even large Charles Mingus once hopped a cab to get away from him. But most of the time, Ben immersed himself in music. Years ago, we were in a bar and Ben, provoked by some lout, was about to swing. He held his hand, however, looked toward the instrument case on the ground, said, "No, I got to save that for the horn."

And what came out of that horn would fill the room and everybody in it. The same thing happened here because Ben could talk more music than a lot of people play. □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1761

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A couple of things you can blow in the dance. (8)
5 I seem to be a patsy, but get entertained. (6)
9 Animal, a little Georgia one, once used in Africa during military operations. (7)
10 Literary following of Westward coach, one being held so. (7)
11 The quality of tin cans, obviously. (7)
12 Is a poet unlikely to be associated with De Quincey? (7)
13 For an unusual frolic, piece of copper, commonly. (6,7)
15 What one has to do if an aerialist's partner, or a 13 with the best case. (5,2,3,3)
21 To which a possible reply is "once around the park". (7)
22 Cut down to scale, it's used as a food and in medicine. (7)
23 Part of a psalm in Detroit, of French departed. (7)
24 One spot on the flower is needle-shaped. (7)
25 What a bull might be doing with an unmarked war criminal. (6)
26 Head bursting, ends with a tear for the one who follows. (8)

DOWN

1 Nag about a husky relative? (6)
2 Things in the law to pack solidly and make a second impression. (7)
3 Again confused in record returns, referring to one side of the leaf. (7)
4 Victoria never seemed to forget hers. (6,7)
6 Often associated with Pa, and drunk as a dog. (7)
7 History is thus surrounded by one with palsy. (7)
8 Fancy ones possibly keep their fancy things in them. (8)
10 Implying Smee's boss came from Amsterdam with this cape. (4,2,7)
14 Lowering an animal in a cargo hoist? (8)
16 The changing rate of entertainment? (7)
17 What a striking farm-worker might throw in the dance. (7)
18 It's current on the island to add by growth. (7)
19 Twain, in a sense, and the woe Tom's difficulty caused. (7)
20 What they sometimes do with a publisher's slip. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1760.

ACROSS: 1 Stand around; 9 Arum; 10 and 11 Masseuses; 12 and 16 Nothing to lose; 13 Passing; 15 Gunwales; 18 Unison; 21 Likewise; 24 Ammonia; 26 Endears; 28 Here; 29 Erato; 30 Mean; 31, 23 and 19 Name, rank and serial number. DOWN: 2 Tomahawks; 3 Nominal; 4 Apse; 5 Overact; 6 Nouns; 7 Ormolu; 8 Tennis; 14 Psalm; 17 Low German; 20 Naivete; 22 Kinfolk; 25 Opera; 27 Dada.

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The last of the American bald eagles?

The last passenger pigeon on earth died in a Cincinnati zoo in 1914.

We don't want the bald eagle to go the same way. There are fewer than 3000 bald eagles left in the lower 48 states.

Civilization has crowded the eagles out of their eyries, yet eagles can live only in wilderness where their nests are undisturbed.

Even where there is uninhabited land, eagles are being killed . . . by careless or malicious hunters, by poisoned meat set out for predators, by insecticides polluting our waters.

We can keep these magnificent birds . . . symbols of our own freedom . . . alive and free to soar our skies. There are ways you can help.

Be careful with pesticides. Read the labels for correct methods of use and disposing of leftover poisons.

Learn to identify the eagle. If you hunt, remember it's against federal law to kill eagles, hawks, falcons and other birds of prey.

Never approach an eagle's roosting or nesting place. It's illegal even to disturb a nest—and you may cause the adult eagles to leave it for good.

The National Wildlife Federation is working to save the eagle too.

With the help of several American companies, we've purchased land with eagle roosting sites and presented it to the American people.

And the federation has offered a $500 reward for substantial assistance in convicting anyone who kills an eagle.

You can support the National Wildlife Federation's programs to save the bald eagle. Join us. Write the National Wildlife Federation, Department 101, 1412 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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